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THE ISMAILI SOCIETY SERIES A No. 15

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ISMAILI LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

a second amplified edition of
"A Guide to Ismaili Literature", London, 1933

by

W. Ivanow

(formerly Assistant Keeper, the Asiatic Museum of the
Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg)



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To
Mukhi Shamis Velami,
with best wishes for
Omara
Karachi. 19/3/76.

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11. *Gusha'ish wa Raha'ish*, by Nasir-i Khusraw. Pers. text ed. by Professor Sa'id Nafici. **Sec. ed.** cf. A-5. Teheran, 1960, pp. xii, 108. Rs. 5/8 sh.



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8. *True Meaning of Religion (Risala dar Haqiqat-i din)*, by Shihabu'd-din Shah. Facsimile ed., **Second impression**. Bby, 1955, pp. x—75. Rs. 3/5 sh.

9. *True Meaning of Religion (Risala dar Haqiqat-i Din)*, by Shihabu'd-din Shah. Transl. by W. Ivanow. **Third ed.** Cf B-2. Bby, 1956, pp. xx—52. Rs. 2/3 sh.

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10. *Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography*, by W. Ivanow. Amplified second ed. of B-5. Bby, 1956, pp. xvi—88. Rs. 3/5 sh.
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2. *Alamut and Lamasar*, by W. Ivanow. Teheran, 1960. pp. xvi, 106, 3 maps, 17 plates of photographs. Rs. 15/25 sh.

The Ismaili Society

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NOTICE

The aim of the "Ismaili Society", founded in Bombay on the 16th February 1946, is the promotion of independent and critical study of all matters connected with Ismailism, that is to say, of all branches of the Ismaili movement in Islam, their literature, history, philosophy, and so forth. The Society entirely excludes from its programme any religious or political propaganda or controversy, and does not intend to vindicate the viewpoint of any particular school in Ismailism. The "Ismaili Society" propose to publish monographs on subjects connected with such studies, critical editions of the original texts of early Ismaili works, their translations, and also collections of shorter papers and notes. Works by various authors are accepted for publication on their merits, i. e. the value of their contribution to the knowledge of Ismailism. It is a consistent policy of the "Ismaili Society" to encourage free exchange of opinions and ideas so long as they are based on serious study of the subject. It may be noted that the fact of publication of any work by the "Ismaili Society" does not by itself imply their concurrence with, or endorsement of, the views and ideas advanced therein.

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P R E F A C E

This book is intended to offer to the student information, as far as is possible in the form of a detailed inventory, of the literary heritage of Ismailism, both of works still in existence or still reliably remembered, and also those works which are forgotten but whose titles may be traced in early literature by careful research. By "Ismailism" may be understood, broadly speaking, the whole group of related currents in the Islamic civilisation of which the highest manifestation was the literature of the Fatimid period of the Xth and XIth centuries.

It would be, however, a grave error to believe that Fatimid Ismaili literature exhausts the whole historical meaning of Ismailism and all its implications. Many essential and important aspects, many implications of the Ismaili movement remained undisclosed in that literature. Fatimid Ismailism is rather to be regarded as the eldest and most highly gifted brother in a whole family whose brilliance dazzled and left in the shadows younger brothers and relatives, deserving, if taken by themselves and separately, interest and careful examination.

In Fatimid Ismaili literature there are found sporadic and more or less embryonic attempts at the collection of bibliographical information, as well as a number of most valuable chrestomathies of standard works. However the only real work of bibliographical content in the whole of Ismaili literature is the *Fihrist al-Majdû'*, "The Index of the Mutilated One", as it is popularly called, really the *Majmû' fi Fihristi'l-Kutub*, by the learned Bohora, of somewhat heretical leanings, Ismâ'il b. 'Abdi'r-Rasûl of Ujjain, who died in 1183-4/1770. His work was designed as a programme for the religious education of a Bohora pupil, beginning with elementary Arabic and "general knowledge". It thus entirely excludes the works of other sects and sub-sects, and even has a serious lacuna as to the most secret, and consequently most interesting, philosophical works which "should not be read without special permission from the Bohora religious authorities". Besides, his book is far from complete, and many treatises exist in private collections which find no place in his *Fihrist*.

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Having accidentally come across a copy of this *Fihrist*, I composed the first version of the present work, which with the help of the late Prof. D. S. Margoliouth was published in 1933, under the title of "A Guide to Ismaili Literature", by the Royal Asiatic Society of London as no. XIII in their Prize Publication Fund Series.

As a pioneer work in its own field, this unavoidably contained various shortcomings, which it was hoped to rectify in a second edition. The events of the subsequent unhappy years made this impossible and it is only now that, thirty years later, it has been possible to attain the desired aim, through the generous assistance of the Ismaili Society and with the most valuable co-operation of the University of Tehran.

Of course, this long interval of thirty years has not been wasted. It has offered the opportunity for the continuation of the search for original manuscripts, their examination, the supplementation of the material contained in the *Fihrist*, the checking and correction of the chronology and the introduction of some kind of order into what first appeared as a chaotic heap of haphazard information. There has also been introduced an analytical stratification of Ismaili works which it is hoped may be of some help to students.

The present edition consequently differs in many respects from the original "Guide". In fact, I have only left the notes and lists of titles as they were in the first edition in those cases where I could not find any new or additional information and had still to depend entirely on the *Fihrist*. I have also struck off a number of titles of late Dawudi works which were entirely devoted to the vindication of the supposed "rights" of various individuals to the succession as *dā'īs* and abuse of the rival party, since these works bear a purely personal character and contribute nothing to our knowledge of Ismailism.

I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the Ismaili Society and those Ismaili and other friends who offered their co-operation in the production of this book, especially those who lent to me their copies of the original manuscripts for examination and helped in the clarification of the meaning of various technical terms and obscurities in chronology and historical references.

Tehran, April 1963.

W. Ivanow realpatidar.com



ABBREVIATIONS

- b. - ibn
B. - C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte d. Arab. Literatur*, vol.1,2
Weimar, 1898-1902
BS - The same, *Supplementbands I-III*, Leiden, 1937-1942
d. - died in
Dr. - Druze work
ed. - editor of the text
F - *Fihrist al-Majdû'*
H. - Hurufi
K., k. - *kitâb*
Kh. - Khoja work
M. - Muḥammad
MT. - *Majmû' al-tarbiyat*
Muntaza' - *Muntaza' al-akhbâr*
P. - in Persian
Q., q., qaṣ. - *qaṣida, al-qaṣidat*
R., r., - *Risâla, ar-risâlat*
S. - Sulaymânî
Syr. - Syrian (Ismaili)
T. - Turkish

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

The system employed here is that of mechanical substitution for the letters of the Arabic alphabet, and the signs of vocalization, of their corresponding signs in the English alphabet. It is *not* intended to give the pronunciation of the names or titles of books as they are pronounced in the different parts of the Muhammadan world. Exception is only made in the case of the Arabic definitive article *al-* in the combinations with sounds causing assimilation, which though not expressed in writing, is universal and obligatory for the Arabic language as a whole. Therefore, instead for instance of 'Abd al Raḥīm, there is written here 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm.

The different ways of expressing the long *ā* in Arabic orthography, i.e. those with the help of the *alif*, *wāw*, or the *yāy*, are disregarded here.

ا a, i, u, آ ā, ب b, پ p, ت t, ث th, ج j, چ ch, ح h, خ kh, د d, ذ dh, ر r, ز z, س s, ش sh, ص s, ض d, ط t, ظ z, ع ' gh, ف f, ق q, ك k, گ g, ل l, م m, ن n, و w, ū, ه h, ی y, ī, Hamza ' (the same as the apostrophe).



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ERRATA

Page	Line from top	Wrong:	Correct:
8	25	rovolt	revolt
15	22	arccording	according
28	28	<i>al-Yanabî'</i>	<i>al-Yanâbî'</i>
30	1	<i>al-Radd</i>	<i>ar-Radd</i>
61	top	Nos. 213	No. 213
61	top	N. Yamanitie	N. Yamanite
72	32	<i>Jalâ'</i>	<i>Jilâ'</i>
77	11	<i>al-Ibânâ</i>	<i>al-Ibâna</i>
82	1	strike one "alâ"	
87	6	224	214
93	13	<i>al-mudiḥat</i>	<i>al-mûdiḥat</i>
94	9	<i>fî sîrat</i>	<i>fî's-sîrat</i>
97	13	<i>jalâ'</i>	<i>jilâ'</i>
100	4	<i>istîdâ'</i>	<i>istîdâ'</i>
103	18	<i>-tarîf</i>	<i>-ta'rîf</i>
103	21	<i>'Idḥâdu</i>	<i>Idḥâdu</i>
103	22	<i>Iqd</i>	<i>'Iqd</i>
118	23	<i>Kutâmâ</i>	<i>Kutâma</i>
123	27	626	676
128	32	an his	and his
166	top	No. 770	No. 773

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INTRODUCTION

1. General Remarks

There are several important matters — rather truisms— which should be always taken into consideration by any student of Ismailism, or, generally, any one who has to refer to the Ismaili literature. The most important is the fact that the Ismaili literature was a literature of a highly specialised contents, namely, a *religious* literature. As every religious literature it was not a literature *about* Ismailism, describing it as it actually was. Its purpose was to *teach* the followers of Ismailism, to guide them to the true and correct version of what was officially accepted as the standard, and warn them against wrong judgment and straying into error. The authors of the individual works of which it was composed certainly had their individual peculiarities in the treatment of the subjects with which they dealt; but the process of selection which took several hundred years during which the Ismaili literature was developing, undoubtedly helped to bring it, so to speak, to a certain level which has become essentially typical of it. One has always to keep in mind that the authors were always speaking about what Ismailism, generally, or any of its component dogmas in particular, to the best of their understanding, *should be*, — not what it was originally, or how it was commonly understood in the community at that time. The idea of evolution, mutation, reform, was always abhorrent to religious mind. However absurdly, religious authors always obstinately insisted on the principle that the religion revealed by God and His Apostle should remain eternally unchangeable.

The other important point is to realise the fact that despite certain temporary “fashions” for esoterism, the Ismaili doctrine, and the literature which summed it up, always remained faithful to the principle that plain religion invariably over-rides all esoteric speculations. It is the latter which had to give way, when clashing, and on no occasion the former. The *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* (both substantives, not adjectives) are inseparable,—

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there is no *ẓāhir* without a corresponding *bāṭin*, and vice versa. "Philosophy", that is to say, theosophy, which forms the main contents of the Ismaili literature during the most brilliant period of its history, the Fatimid, always had the character of superstructure. The original, solid edifice of the system always remained the ordinary Shi'ite Islam, the difference solely being constituted by the way in which it was interpreted.

The *ḥaqā'iq*, that is to say the esoteric doctrine, presents little of what is really novel. There is nothing in it which would show the traces of an independent and original philosophical thinking, or even independent borrowing from Greek learning. Perhaps the only such instance would be the borrowing of the Patrist idea of the *perigraphê*, translated by the Arabic *ḥadd* (Plur. *ḥudūd*). The rest is adaptation of the *ḥikma*, already sufficiently popularised by the time Ismailism comes on the stage, beginning to develop its own literature. It contains no outrageously heretical theories. The same theories of Hellenistic wisdom were studied in orthodox circles, and officially patronised by the Abbasids. The only difference, — though a very substantial difference, — consisted in the fact that orthodox circles treated them from a purely utilitarian standpoint and strictly kept what may be called "speculative theosophy" apart from religious doctrine in the narrower sense of the term. On the contrary, the Ismailis to a great extent incorporated it into their doctrine, although introducing precautionary restrictions against its being taught to the insufficiently prepared adepts.

As they say, such incorporation of the learned theosophic theories was made consciously, *bona fide*, for the purpose of deepening the doctrine of Islam, not to "blow it from the inside", as alleged by their enemies. This intended to prove to sophisticated circles the intrinsic wisdom of the Divine Revelation, and its being consistent with the philosophy and science of the time, — the idea which proved to be very attractive to many strata of the world of Islam.

Deliberate perversion of facts by anti-Ismaili authors usually tries to present Ismailis as some kind of "crystals" of pure and absolute hereticism. But in reality the Ismailis were ordinary Persians, Arabs, Indians, as the case may be. They lived in their



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minute communities scattered amongst the religious majorities in various provinces, trying to be outwardly undistinguishable from them and, in fact, completely sharing the culture and practical interests of the place and time in which they lived, as apart from the "higher" aims in policy and ideology which their leaders in Cairo evolved. The "Ismaili cells" scattered all over various provinces of the Abbaside empire of Islam, apparently never formed compact accumulations, even in Egypt itself during the most flourishing periods of the Fatimid state, to play a cognisable part in the moulding of the trend of events.

Moreover, constituting a persecuted minority, they had to live under the shield of the *taqiyya*, "precautionary dissembling", to be undistinguishable from their orthodox neighbours. It may even now be taken as a rule that various sectarians, and especially Ismaili authors, usually are remarkably well educated in the religious rules and observances of the orthodox. Apparently without exception, the authors of the works which form the Ismaili literature appear to be real experts in such matters as ordinary Islamic prayers with all their complex details, orthodox *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and especially tradition and exegesis of the Coran. At least thirty per cent of all that constitutes the Ismaili literature deals in detail with such subjects.

It is therefore really astonishing how these people, always living under the continuous threat of brutal attack from the hostile fanatics, and continuous pressure of the orthodox ideas, could preserve their sectarian consciousness and individuality. This is true as regards the common member of the sect. But still more surprising is that quite a great proportion, if not its major part, of the Ismaili literature was the work of the authors who received their education in non-Ismaili schools. The Ismaili "cells" were too small and financially weak to afford their own higher *madrasas*, and, according to the practice which apparently continued in the whole course of the existence of Ismailism, till our own time, sent their talented boys to study in the higher Sunni or Shi'ite theological schools. A long list of famous names in Ismailism may be drawn, beginning with Ibn Ḥawshab (Man-ṣūru'l-Yaman), who was originally an Ithna-ʿashari.

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For this reason it is understandable that the Ismaili literature shows so many features in common with the spirit and outlook of the literatures of their persecutors. As a precautionary measure the Ismailis imposed a strict taboo on showing their literature to any non-Ismaili. It is a great sin, punishable by excommunication, that is to say, one of the most vexatious forms of social boycott. The Ismaili literature has become barred from the possibility of being read and dispassionately criticised. On the other hand, their orthodox opponents, who on many occasions could have had an opportunity to examine it, were not interested in paying attention to what was akin to their own teachings. On the contrary, they picked up and grossly perverted everything to vindicate their wild allegations. The Ismailis themselves took the trouble to emphasise in their polemical works the common ground which eminently exists between the two schools. But their books no one could read except for the Ismailis themselves, who surely needed no argument on such matters.

From what has been said above it may be clear that the student who turns his attention to the Ismaili literature in a hope to unravel some "mysteries", may simply waste his time. The history of Ismailism has bequeathed to us many mysteries to which we shall hardly ever find proper keys. But these mysteries are of a different nature, not of a dogmatic kind. It is the question of the organisation, the technique of their propaganda system, its spread in the world of Islam, its real political, social and economic programme, its relation to popular and social movements, its attitude to the agrarian problems, and so forth. We do not know whether such matters have been discussed in writing, apart, most probably, from highly confidential service correspondence. If only we could know these, and not the hollow esoteric speculations, would we be able to understand correctly the essence of Ismailism and its place in the evolution of Islam.



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2. *Stratification of the Ismaili Literature.*

It may be asked: what should we call "the Ismaili Literature"? In the course of its 1200 years long history the movement became subdivided into a series of separate developments, none preserving uninterrupted continuity in its evolution, and therefore eligible for the part of the "orthodox" or standard school. The story of Ismailism is composed of "phases", some running parallel to others, and some developing in sequence, directly or after a certain "leap". It is something like the metamorphoses of the egg, caterpillar, chrysalis, butterfly,—the substance and individuality intrinsically the same, but forms markedly different. But taken as a complex of interconnected phenomena it may to a great extent permit us to grasp the nature of this ideology as a whole by supplementing what is incomplete in one "phase" by observation of an analogous development in another. Thus the only way is to choose as an object of study the whole group of cognate phenomena in its entirety.

Now the question arises as to what we should regard as a "cognate" development, as far as Ismailism is concerned? What may be suggested is to regard as belonging to Ismailism all sectarian developments in Shi'ite Islam whose doctrine is built around what we may conventionally designate by a term, borrowed from organic chemistry, "the Ismaili radical". This is the indissoluble combination of five dogmatic principles which, as what is called "radical" in chemistry, form a "unit", which may be itself combined with other ideas and their complexes, but always inseparably, as if forming an "irresolvable element".

It consists of: strict monotheism, belief in periodical Apostolic missions of great prophets, Imamat as a further development of the preceding, *da'wat* or missionary function of the Imam, and *ta'wil*, or revelation of the inner implications of the scripture and forms of worship. All these form the basic and essential, indispensable structure of the "radical". In practical life it is quite possible to observe various deviations from such ideal structure. Some ingredients may be fading, and some abnormally overdeveloped,—this is what may be designated as occasional or heretical tendencies, especially in a backward milieu.

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It is by no means easy to devise a satisfactory principle for the classification of the "phases" in the development of Ismailism, as mentioned above. Neither chronology, nor any considerations of the ethnic or social factors are sufficient. Evolution, as we have seen, never had continuity. The only way which remains is to follow a combination of all these principles, dividing the followers of Ismailism into two main groups, the Fatimid and the Nizari branches, with their derivatives, direct or secondary, each group still further sub-divided into its minor components. What is tentatively offered below is merely a rough scheme which, though imperfect, will be, nevertheless, better than no system at all.

1. *The Initial Phase of the Ismaili Literature.* — It is very doubtful whether the original milieu from which Ismailism sprang, had produced any literature. Religious tradition mentions a series of the apocrypha, beginning with the poetry and sermons composed by *Mawlâ-nâ* 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib, and alleged works of early Imams or their associates. Probably the earliest genuine works, which, most unfortunately, have been lost in antiquity, were those which are attributed to Sayyid-nâ 'Abdân, the *dâ'i* of Mesopotamia, who resided in Kalwâdhâ, near Baghdad, and was killed in 286/899. The Ismaili movement was at the time known under the name of Qarmatianism, after Ḥamdân Qarmaṭ, the leader. The term *Qarmaṭi*, *Qarâmiṭa*, according to Tabari's testimony, "appeared first in 276/889" (which does not mean that the sect did not exist itself long before a new name was given to it). It is quite possible that after the reformation which (in 280/893) introduced the dogma of the eternally continuing line of the Imams, the early literature, orientated on the Wâqifa ideas and ardent Messianic beliefs, gradually passed out of use.

2. *The Early Yamanite School.* — There are many traces of the close contact of the early community in the Yaman with the Qarmatians. In fact, if it is true that Ibn Ḥawshab, who later on became known as Manṣûru'l-Yaman, was really sent on his mission in 266/879, that is to say, long before the reform, he most probably preached Qarmatianism. Although so far no



historical documents have come to light which would supply information about the transition from Qarmatianism to the Fatimid brand of Ismailism in the Yaman, it appears that the Qarmatian phase has left an indelible mark on Yamanite Ismailism. The latter for long preserved characteristic peculiarities in its terminology and the spirit or trend of the works produced there, with its leaning towards mysticism. During the Fatimid period the Yaman probably produced very little in the way of literature. This apparently later on was all ascribed to the ingenuity of Ja'far b. Manṣûrî'l-Yaman (that is to say, a descendant, probably grandson, of Ibn Hawshab) who flourished towards the end of the iv/x c. Yamanite books in this style cease to appear during the classic Fatimid period, but re-appear in the sixth/twelfth c., after the collapse of Cairo in its role of the headquarters of the Ismaili movement, in what we may call the "Neo-Yamanite phase".

3. *The Fatimid Period.*— Although its beginning produced an eminent "classic" in the person of Qâdî Nu'mân, of Arab extraction, it is possible to argue that almost the whole brilliance of the period was due to the authors originating from Persia and Central Asia. The period came to an abrupt end when on the death of the Imam al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh (487/1094) the rightful successor, Prince Nizâr, was dethroned, and the whole of the East of the Ismaili world rejected the claims of the usurpers.

4. *The Neo-Yamanite and Indian Phase.*— The murder of the caliph al-Âmir (524/1130) caused panic in Cairo, and even the shrunk remnants of the *da'wat* organisation which remained since al-Mustanṣir's time ceased to function. In the panic Cairo was soon de-Ismailised,— all those who followed Ismailism rushed to join orthodoxy. Those few who either remained faithful to Ismailism, or were so much "compromised" that they could not give themselves for orthodox Sunnis, had to emigrate to the backward feudalising Yaman where tribal barons often pretended to religious standing in the *da'wat*. The talk of the Fatimid administrative apparatus being moved to the Yaman is nothing but idle fiction. It is quite possible that apart from some genuine

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Ismailis there was a number of now unemployed Cairo clerks who went to the Yaman in search of employment under local sheykhs, and compiled religious works for them.

Anyhow, a new type of the Ismaili literature gradually comes into being. With rare exceptions it was of an epitomizing nature, compilation of commentaries (in the form of what was called "*masâ'il*", — questions and answers), and chrestomathies, some of great value for the student, because they included extracts or whole works belonging to the preceding, Fatimid period. Very soon, however, originality and the general quality of this literature began to fade out, and, with the rarest exceptions, this literature since the viii/xiv c. and till now, degenerated due to the wranglings and squabbles of the different parties in the priestly clique, usually in connection with frauds in the succession of *da'is* (bishops). And so it goes on now. Nothing but inflated bombastic praises of sayyid-nâ so-and-so, in charge of the communal funds, or scurrilous abuse of his opponents, is produced.

5. *The Druze Literature*. — What may be called the short-lived Druze episode in the Fatimid history, is a phenomenon of the greatest interest for the student. Coming just in the opening years of the fifth/eleventh c., when the Fatimid theosophy and literature have reached the zenith in their development, it perhaps could have been explained as an expression of reaction, a protest of the less sophisticated and backward strata, rising in revolt against the "unintelligible speculations" of the learned folks. But such theory would be thoroughly erroneous. The promoters of the movement, Ḥamza, Mujtabâ, Muqtanâ, etc., were not the leaders thrown up by the crowd. Not only were they well educated people for their time, but they strived as much as possible to imitate the best productions of the Fatimid literature. More than a half (at least) of what forms the Druze literature which is preserved shows no originality, is bombastic and hollow, and does not reveal any tendency to use simple language intelligible to the backward milieu which finally adopted the religion. It seems that the "crowd" not only did not mind sophisticated and abstruse speculations, but that the latter exercised great appeal to it. What apparently was the secret of their success is



that the promoters of the Druze movement touched on the deep seated "underground" springs of the popular religious mentality which the Fatimids neglected, but which displays remarkable vitality, namely, belief into Man-God. Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, executed in Kūfa in 145/762, the Druzes, deifying al-Ḥākim, late Nizaris, Ahl-i Ḥaqq of Kurdistan, and many others, are links in one chain stretched through centuries.

6. *The Nizari Phase*.— The Nizari-Musta'lian split was the catastrophe from which Ismailism has never recovered. While the followers of Musta'lian persuasion found refuge in the Yaman, and thence shifted to India, the rest of the Ismaili world, rejecting the usurpers, remained stunned for over seventy years before the first Nizari works began to appear. It was again the same story. At the proclamation of the Great *Qiyāmat* the Imam Jalālu'd-dīn Ḥasan 'alā dhikri-hi's-salām addressed the crowd of his devout followers, pure Persians, speaking in Arabic, which was translated by a special interpreter into Persian. But what he was saying had remarkable affinity with what was, under the veil of great secrecy, discussed and taught in the remote Yaman by the authors of *al-kutub al-kibār* by the Yamanite *dā'īs*. Thus despite absolute rupture, and thousands of miles of distance, again in the most sophisticated form, the same ancient speculations about the Deity revealing itself in human form, were preached. The tragic events of the further history of the Nizari branch prevented it from creating a substantial literature, although talent was not lacking. What is really noteworthy is that the Ismaili literature produced in Persia in Persian, Nizari and even late pre-Nizari, shows absolute absence of contact between the Fatimid literature and their own. It is impossible to believe that books of the Fatimid literature never penetrated Persia. And yet even in the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who himself entirely belongs to the Fatimid time, not a single Arabic Ismaili work is referred to or quoted. Similarly, the Nizari literature developed as if from scratch, as if no Ismaili literature existed before it, while at the same time some invisible ties continued to exist in the popular mentality in "underground" conditions.

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In addition to all the devastation and carnage which we know from the mediæval history of Ismailism in Persia, another calamity befell it, a split in the family of the Imams. Probably only because the community had shrunk very much by that time, the split did not gather momentum sufficient to cause great ruin to Nizari Ismailism. About the third quarter of the eighth/fourteenth century the house split into two branches:

(a) The elder, *Muhammad Shâhî* (known in Syria as Ja'farî) which at first found more support, especially in the far outlying localities, Syria and Badakhshan. It produced a line of the Imams which became extinct soon after Shâh Tâhir Dakanî who emigrated to India in the beginning of the x/xvi c. This branch lost its following, and at present only about 4000 followers preserve allegiance to this line in Syria, in the districts of Maşyaf and Qadmûs.

(b) The *Qâsim-Shâhî*, the junior line, which is at present represented by His Highness the Agha Khan, was soon recognized by the overwhelming majority of those local communities which at the beginning followed the Muhammad-Shâhî line.

Too few works remain from that period, and especially from the Muhammad-Shâhî branch to permit us to form a clear idea about the difference in the general tendencies of both these branches. So far as one may see, there was no difference of the dogma, although certain signs may be interpreted as indicating a tendency to fall in line with the Ithna-'ashari learning on the part of the Muhammad-Shâhîs.

7. *The Nizari Literature under the Safawids and later.*— The advent of the Safawids (907/1502) signifies a religious revolution in Persia which greatly affected Ismailism in Iran, the Upper Oxus regions and India. In their fight against Sunnism, and with official support of the Ithna-'ashari doctrine, the Safawids extended patronage to some darwish organisations and certain Shi'ite extremist circles. Popular Ismailism found a place amongst these, thus to some extent securing relief from the rabid persecution. Ismaili pîrs, the term now applied indiscriminately to all higher ranks of former members of the *da'wat* organisation,

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received the possibility to live and work without being much molested. But as regards literary work the change brought much ruin. Being accustomed in everyday life to what may resemble "double personality", Ismaili and Sufic, those few who wanted and could create something, usually took the line of the least resistance, and adopted the most slavish imitation of the great Sufic and moralising poets of the Persian literature. Reading the majority of the literary productions of this period, one often finds it very difficult to decide as to what the work perused is,—is it Sufic with strong Ismaili colouring, or an Ismaili work, too enthusiastically camouflaged as Sufic?

The influence of the Western ideas spreading in the East in the XIX-th c., to an extent penetrated even this secluded corner, and the sign of this may be seen in the unprecedented, however meagre, rise of interest towards the early history of Ismailism. Works modelled on Persian historical compilations, and almost entirely based on them, and not on independent Ismaili sources (which did not exist) were occasionally composed.

8. *The Nizari Literature of India.*— The Indian Nizaris, known by the name of Khojas, may perhaps claim a long history. As is known, Ismailism penetrated India, namely Upper Sind, still under the Wâqifa-Qarmatian phase. It is probably then that the earlier and archaic versions of some of their oldest *gnans*, devotional hymns, were composed in Hinduistic style, in *slokas*, and their collection was gradually supplemented with new creations in the same spirit. Compelled to live as Hindus, the converts have retained quite a substantial amount of Hinduistic elements in their outlook and customs. What was their Ismailism like, is impossible to say, but apparently much more effective was the "second wave" of the contact with the Ismailis from the West, namely with the refugees from Persia, fleeing from the horrors of the Mongol rule. The Khoja community's own tradition, in a form much mixed with miracles and legends, remembers the advent of the Great Pirs, whom they regard the real founders of their sect. This took place in the eighth/fourteenth c. It is quite probable that the old literature of the *gnans* (which was still for a long time preserved

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orally) was credited to the miraculous genius of the pîrs, who moulded a Hindu-Islamic sect which received the name of *Satpanth* (that is *Tarîqa'î Haqq*, in Persian), "the Path to the (Religious) Truth". In the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth c. the Satpanthis, under the pressure of various economic causes, moved Southwards, towards the littoral provinces of India, settling in Gujrat and Konkan (the future Bombay presidency). Here the interests of the trading newcomers clashed with those of the converts from the local farmers, and the sect split: the traders, who received the Persian name of the Khojas, remained faithful to the Nizari Imams, and maintained contact with them, while the Gujrati farmers, who remained known as Satpanthis, ceased to recognise the Imams, placing themselves under the authority of their *kakas*, *pîrs*, *bâwâs*, etc. It may be noted, however, that both branches recognise as their religious literature exactly the same set of works. With the introduction of printing a certain proportion of the *gnans* were printed, in Gujrati and Kachhi (in Khojki script).

This literature forms a great contrast with the literatures of the other branches of Nizari Ismailism, in so far as it chiefly, if not entirely, is emotionally-religious, what may be called "religious lyrics". There are no learned theological or theosophical works, no translations from Ismaili literature of any other branches, of which the Khojas of the old-fashioned type usually know next to nothing. No history or biography, no dates. Only during the last century or so works began to appear dealing with such subjects.

9. *Minor Ismaili-Sufic Sects*.— In the course of its history Ismailism generated or strongly influenced a number of minor sectarian developments, usually of purely local and short-lived importance. Very few of such sectarian mushrooms produced a literature of their own. Among these the more developed were:

(a) *Ḥurûfîs* and *Nuqtawîs*, which arose towards the end of the eighth/fourteenth c., especially in the Caspian provinces of Persia. Absurd theories about the mystical and secret implicit meaning of letters of the alphabet and of numbers, are as old as the alphabets themselves. There is any amount of this stuff

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in Ismaili literature and in Sufism, in the theosophy (*hikmat*), and so forth. The Caspian Hurûfis, and their followers, however, succeeded in developing a complete literature in speculating over this futile wisdom. Their literature was in great demand, especially amongst the Bektashis. Works of this kind are in different languages, such as Persian, Turkish, and even the old Mazandarani dialect.

(b) *Ahl-i Haqq* or '*Alî-Ilâhîs*. This sect, which apparently came into existence about the end of the ninth/fifteenth c., or the beginning of the Safawid period, combined elements of the darwish, tribal (Kurdish), Christian and Shi'ite folklore, cemented by the Ismaili basic beliefs into a kind of a religion. Their literature, kept in strict secret, consists of legends and religious poetry, in Gurani and Turkish. In their dogma certain elements make this sect quite close to the Druzes.

3. Sources of Information.

Reliable information of bibliographical nature is exceedingly scarce in the Ismaili literature. Owing to their policy of concealing their literary works, many,—it would be safer to say the majority,—when citing a book, or referring to an earlier author, introduce the quotation merely by "it is said", or "(some one) said". In the case of famous and prolific authors one may find citations introduced by: "Sayyid-nâ Hamîd al-dîn (al-Kirmânî) says". But as this author has something like thirty works to his credit, it is like an invitation to search for a needle in a haystack. Sometimes one may come across citations such as "it is said in the" (follows the title of a book),—but no mention as to whose book it was.

Ibn Nadîm in his *Fihrist* (p. 268) gives interesting information about the concealment of Ismaili books at his time (around 377/988). He says that these have become rare, "one does not see them". They were much more in evidence (on the market) some twenty years before that time, especially during the earlier part of the reign of (the Buyid) Mu'izz ad-Dawla (320–356/932–967). It is quite possible that this was due to the changed political situation,—consolidation of the Fatimid power,

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and their conquest of Egypt (358/969) when they began to constitute a serious threat to the Abbasids.

Generally speaking, complete quotations, such as “says (name) in his book (title)” are extremely rare. It is worth mentioning that in many works of two or three hundred pages or so, often no names of authors and no titles of books are mentioned.

As to non-Ismaili works, it is better not to touch them, because they supply plainly fictitious names and titles, or, if they knew the correct ones, they would pervert them to make them unrecognizable.

It would be not out of place to mention here that, having examined scores of heresiological works referring to the Ismailis. I found only one exception in apparently a unique copy of the “*Kitâb at-Tawârîkh wa’l-Milal*”, composed in 552/1157, and, as is stated on its title page, said to be the work of “al-Imâm Ḥujjat al-Islâm Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazâlî”. As the famous al-Ghazâlî died in 505/1111, it is possible that the author was a descendant of his. The copy in the Astana library in Meshed is dated 793/1391. It devotes to the Bâṭiniyya, or Ismailis, some one hundred big pages, and contains a unique feature,—it cites original and genuine Ismaili works under their true titles, and mentions the correct names o. their authors.

Apparently the earliest list of Ismaili books mentioned in Ismaili literature was the *Risâlat al-Fihrist*, composed by the famous Ḥamîdu’d-dîn al-Kirmânî, but it seems to be lost. A short list which the same author offers in the first chapter of his *Râḥat al-‘Aql*, gives rise to suspicions as to its having been supplemented by later copyists.

A notable feature of the Ismaili literature is the existence of “chrestomathies”, i.e., collections of shorter works or extracts from the larger ones, combined together for educative purposes. Such is the most valuable *Majmû‘ at-Tarbiyat* by Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Hârithî (d. 584/1188). The *K. al-Az’hâr* by Ḥasan b. Nûḥ of Bhroch (in Gujrat) who died in 939/1533, is bigger but far less valuable. Meagre information is occasionally given in the historical books of the *dâ‘î* Idrîs (d. 872/1468), the ‘*Uyûn al-Akḥbâr* and *Nuz’hat al-Afkâr*.

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By far the most complete is a late work known under the name of the *Fihrist al-Majdû* (*majdû* "mutilated", in India means one whose nose is cut), or, to give it its original title, *al-Majmû' fî Fihrist al-Kutub*, by Shaykh Ismâ'il b. 'Abdî'r-Rasûl, a descendant of Lar Shâh, of Ujjain (d. 1183 or 1184/1769-70). His nose was, in fact, not cut,— it was the nose of his son, Hibatu'llâh, the co-founder of the Dawudi Bohora sect of the Hiptiyas in Ujjain. But the surname stuck, nevertheless, to the book (cf. *Gulzare Daudî*, 48).

The author of this *Fihrist* has arranged it to be a sort of a guide for the whole course of the education of a Bohora, and follows the long established tradition. For this reason the book contains much that has nothing directly to do with the Ismaili literature in the proper sense of the word. Thus the *first* division deals with Arabic and Persian grammars and dictionaries.

2. Works on ethics and general information, "useful knowledge".

3. Works on *fiqh* and cognate subjects.

4. Ismaili poetry (excluding versified treatises).

5. Ismaili works on ethics.

6. Works of historical, biographical and similar contents.

7, 8, 9, 10. Works on *ta'wîl* and *haqâ'iq*, graded according to their difficulty for understanding.

11. *Masâ'il*, explanation of various difficult theological questions (this class of works plays the part of commentaries of the orthodox schools of Islam).

12. The *most secret* works on *haqâ'iq*, termed "*al-kutub al-kibâr*". Here the *Fihrist* really ends, but the author adds an appendix: *tammal al-Fihrist al-latî qara'tu fî hadhâ'l-Majmû' ilâ hadhâ'l-minwâl. Wa-mâ talâ-hâ min asmâ' al-kutub al-latî lam qad qara'tu*. Amongst these, strangely, the *Râhat al-'Aql* is included.

The author sums up the contents of every work of importance with admirable accuracy and generally is very reliable. His arrangement in every section may at first appear rather chaotic, but in some cases it is possible to attribute this to his desire to put the works in the order in which they should be studied. An interesting feature is his memorial verses added at the end of many of his notes, mentioning the title and contents of

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the book in florid Arabic poetry. Such feature apparently is not known in orthodox bibliographical works.

The *Fihrist al-Majdû* by no means contains the titles of *all* the works of this branch in existence. But in addition to this there is quite a lot of defective books and booklets, the titles and the authors of which are not known. Most probably the majority of such incomplete copies are worthless, but the possibility is not excluded that a proportion of these may be identified. Perhaps amongst the fragments it would be possible to recover pieces of early origin, and it is to be deplored that the taboo prevents the owners consenting to their books being properly examined.

There is not, and apparently never was, any bibliography of the Nizari literature, firstly because of its scarcity, and, secondly because of the backwardness of the milieu in which it is preserved. There are apparently old works, judging from their archaic language, and the possibility is not excluded that they may be occasionally referred to in well-known works, but, owing to the policy of concealment, neither their titles nor names of the authors are traceable. The same policy is also responsible for the manner of referring to works by the number of chapters: *Haft Bâb*, *Shish Faşl*, 36 *şahîfa*, or *Taşawwurât* for the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*, and so forth. Most probably this led to the memory of their original titles being lost.



PART I

FATIMID AND MUSTA'LIAN LITERATURES

1. THE LITERATURE OF THE EARLIEST (QARMATIAN?) PERIOD

Sayyid-nâ 'Abdân, "*ṣāhib jazīra'i 'Irāq*", as Nāṣir-i Khusraw calls him (*Khawān al-Ikhwān*, 1940, p. 115). He is usually regarded as an assistant of Ḥamdān Qarmāṭ. Was murdered in 286/899. Ibn Nadīm (who wrote in or about 377/988) mentions (pp. 268–269) several of 'Abdân's works which were in existence at his time:

(1) *K. ar-Raḥā wa'd-Dūlāb*. (2) *K. al-Ḥudūd wa'l-Asnād*. (3) *K. al-Lāmi'*. (4) *K. az-Zāhir*. (5) *K. al-Maydān*. (6) *K. an-Nīrān*. (7) *K. al-Malāḥim*. (8) *K. al-Maqṣad*.

'Abdân,—another, or the same as the preceding? Mentioned in F. All my insistent inquiries could not elicit any detailed information as to his full name, date, etc. My Bohora informers assured me that this 'Abdân had nothing whatever to do with the preceding 'Abdân, but could not bring any definite facts to support their contention.

(9) *R. ash-Sham'a*, also known under the title of *R. al-Mafātīḥ*. None of my informers had ever seen a copy of this book, or heard about its existence in any private collection.

Manṣūru'l-Yaman, *Abū'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. al-Farāḥ Ibn Ḥawshab al-Kūfī*. Was in 266/879 sent to Aden with a propaganda mission, had great success, brought the whole of the Yaman under his control by the end of the iii/ix c. The exact date of his death is not known. Several works are attributed to him in the Musta'lian literature, but it is quite possible that this is due to the same "fascination of the famous name" as in the case of many other works the real authors of which were forgotten.



(10) *K. al-‘Ālim wa’l-Ghulām*, a story-like popular account of the Ismaili doctrine. Its indubitably very archaic nature, perhaps retaining many features of the Qarmatian phase, makes it deserving of a careful study and analysis. A detailed account of its contents has been given by myself in my “Studies in Early Persian Ismailism” (Ismaili S-ty’s Series, first edition 1948, second 1955). Cf. the late Dr. P. Kraus’ review in the “Revue des Études Islamiques”, 1932, pp. 483-490. The text still remains unedited.

(11) *K. ar-Rushd wa’l-Hidāyat*. This work is also attributed to the authorship of Ibn Ḥawshab, although it is question in how far correctly. There is obviously much in common with the preceding work in it, so that it seems quite possible that even if the book is not by the same author, it undoubtedly comes from the same school and the same period. The work has not been preserved in its entirety, but, probably by chance, several fragments of it are found in the form of a continuation of the *Sullamū’n-Najāt* by Abū Ya‘qūb as-Sijistānī (see further on, no. 37), with which it has in fact nothing to do. The work, or rather its fragments, were analysed and translated by myself in the same “Studies in Early Persian Ismailism”, mentioned above, and the text was edited by the late Prof. M. Kamil Hussein, of the Cairo University, in the Ismaili S-ty’s “Collectanea”, 1948, pp. 185-213. My long search for a complete copy of the work, unfortunately, remained fruitless.

(12) *Rasā’il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, the well known “Encyclopaedia of the Brotherhood of Purity” which, according to the Ismaili tradition (obviously of quite late origin) is supposed to be one of the earliest works, its author being the grandfather of al-Mahdī *bi’l-lāh*, the founder of the Fatimid caliphate. As the latter was born in 260/874, we have to presume that the work came into existence about that early date. The *‘Uyūn al-akhbār*, by Idrīs b. Ḥasan, which is full of legends, has (in the fourth vol.) a long story about the origin of the work which was intended to counteract “the godless policy” of al-Ma’mūn (198-218/813-833), i.e. the early Abbasids generally, of encouraging lay learning.



Its purpose was to introduce a scientific proof of the truth of the doctrine of Islam with the help of the "philosophy" of the day, based on Hellenistic wisdom.

All this, surely, has nothing to do with history. There are no positive proofs which would show whether the work was a toned down Ismaili production, or a non-Ismaili work, later on "Ismailized" for some reason. As is known, the earliest reference to the Encyclopaedia in general literature is found in Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî's work *al-Muqâbasât* in which he sums up his talk which he had in 373/983-4 on the subject, in connection with a certain Zayd b. Rufâ'a. He mentions as some of the compilers: Abû Sulaymân Muḥammad b. Ma'shar al-Bustî, known as al-Muqaddasî, Abû'l-Ḥasan 'Alî b. Hârûn az-Zanjânî, Abû Aḥmad al-Mihrijânî, al-'Awfî, "and others". All names mentioned by him appear to be of Persian origin. Cf. B-I, 213 and BS-I, 380.

Many strange matters appear in connection with its career in Ismaili literature. Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî, a scholar of outstanding erudition, who was a contemporary of at-Tawḥîdî, mentioned above, obviously does not refer to it (or does not regard it as an Ismaili work). As far as I could see personally from the works accessible to me, and by questioning various learned Musta'lian Ismailis, none of known works of the *Fatimid* period refers to it. But it makes a sudden appearance about the middle of the sixth/twelfth c., in the *Yaman* in the works of the earliest Yamanite *dâ'is*. It is usually referred to as *al-Jâmi'a* and also *ar-Rasâ'il*. The earlier compilers do not know the name of the author, referring to him as *ash-Shakhṣ al-Fâḍil ṣâhib ar-Rasâ'il*, i.e. the learned author of the Encyclopaedia (as in the *Kanz al-Walad* by the second *dâ'i* Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥâmidî, d. 557/1162). From the form of the simple invocation, *naḍḍar Allâh wajha-hu*, "may God beautify his countenance", it appears as if the author did not regard him as an Imam, to whom such invocation would not be applied. It is only later on that the name of the "author" appears in such references as Aḥmad (b. 'Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad b. Ismâ'il b. Ja'far) towards the end of the seventh/thirteenth c.

While the version in general use of the Encyclopaedia usually contains 52 *rasâ'il*, the Ismailis profess to have yet one



more *risāla* called *Jāmiʿat al-Jāmiʿa (dhāt al-fawāʿid an-nāfiʿa)*. I came across a reference to it only in the work by the 5th Yamanite *dāʿī* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215) in his work *Lubāb al-fawāʿid wa ṣafw al-aqāʿid* (no. 328) who calls it the work of the same “learned author”, i.e. the Imam Aḥmad. It may be possible that careful investigations may prove profitable in the solution of the almost hopeless problem of the *Rasāʾil*.

It may be noted that there is much confusion with regard to such a “53-rd *Risāla*”. As the whole of the Encyclopaedia was originally called *al-Jāmiʿa*, the *Jāmiʿat al-Jāmiʿa* was obviously to mean a kind of a synopsis of the original work. But in the later usage, still continued now, two *Jāmiʿas* came into existence: simply *Jāmiʿa* and the *Jāmiʿat al-Jāmiʿa*. It is very difficult to find out anything reliable about them. I have seen several copies of the work, and all of them appeared to be different. In addition there is the one recently edited in Damascus by Dr. J. Ṣalībā, in two vols. Questioning learned Mustaʿlians does not bring any light into this dark matter—they are quite helpless in such problems. Some of those *Jāmiʿas* which I have seen were thin volumes, others thick, and one which I examined was nothing beyond a simple “table of contents”, not even deserving the name of a conspectus.

Much has been written about these *Rasāʾil*, but so far no definite date of the composition had been firmly ascertained. It seems to me that what has been said above may offer some ground to the theory that the work, perhaps really started by some one in Baṣra in the second half of the fourth/tenth c., was later on continued and Ismailized in the Yaman in the Ismaili circles. When it acquired a certain fame, a legend was concocted about the authorship of Imam Aḥmad, and repeated attempts were made to prepare a condensed version of it. The names of various persons which have been mentioned may be genuine, but probably not as members of a “learned society”, but authors of separate works which were combined in the text of the *Rasāʾil*.



Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (that is, of Ibn Ḥawshab), possibly not the son, but a grandson or great-grandson of the famous missionary, wrote about 380/990, because in one of his works (*Asrār an-Nuṭaqā'*) he says that 120 years have passed since the disappearance of the twelfth Ithna-'ashari Imam, in 260/874. His works are apparently very rarely, or never, cited in the literature of the Fatimid period, but are often quoted in the works of the Neo-Yamanite period. They sharply differ in their tone and spirit from those of the "classic" Fatimid literature, by their leaning to mysticism and controversial forays against the Ithna-'asharis. The late Dr. P. Kraus took much interest in them and offered valuable remarks on them in his review of the first edition of the "Guide to Ismaili Literature", published in the "Revue des Études Islamiques", 1932, p. 486.

(13) *Kitāb al-Kashf*, ed. by Prof. R. Strothmann, as no. 13 in the Islamic Research Association's series, Bombay, 1952. The work chiefly deals with the mythology of the Coran and its esoteric interpretation. Certain passages are in cipher.

(14 and 15) *Asrār an-Nuṭaqā'* and *Sarā'ir an-Nuṭaqā'*, two works apparently closely connected with each other. The first fifty pages or so in both coincide almost completely and only later differ in the text being amplified. Both deal with the *ta'wil* of the Corano-Biblical myths.

(16) *ash-Shawāhid wa'l-Bayān fī Ithbāt Maqām Amīr al-Mu'minīn wa'l-A'imma*, explaining the *āyats* containing implicit references to Mawlā-nā 'Alī and his successors' standing.

(17) *Ta'wil az-Zakāt*, on the mystical meaning of the prescription for paying the religious tax, apparently the best known work of the author.

(18) *al-Fatarāt wa'l-Qirānāt*, also known under the title of *Kitāb al-Jafr al-aswad*. As Dr. P. Kraus observes, this work in the version now found in the Bohora collections cannot be the original work of Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman because it contains references to the alleged son of al-Āmir, aṭ-Ṭayyib who "disappeared" in 524/1130. It would be interesting to find out whether such "emendations" are observed in one only copy which Dr. P. Kraus happened to peruse, or are found in all copies.



(19) *K. al-Farâ'id wa Hudûd ad-Dîn*. There is another work apparently by the same author (ms. Leiden, 1971) with the title *Ta'wîl al-Farâ'id*. According to Dr. P. Kraus these two works are different. Perhaps this may be a parallel case to that of the *Asrâr an-Nuṭaqâ'* and *Sarâ'ir an-Nuṭaqâ'*, mentioned above. According to P. Kraus the work is divided into five chapters: 1. *Ta'wîl "wa laqad khalaqnâ'l-insân min salsal"*; 2. *Al-kitâb al-wârid ilâ nâhiyat al-Yaman min Mawlâ-nâ al-Mahdî ba'd nuzûli-hi fi'l-Mahdiyya*; 3. *Sharḥ giṣṣat Yûsuf*; 4. *Sharḥ sûrat al-Kahf*; 5. *Shay' min k. al-Adilla wa Shawâhid min ta'lîfâti-hi ayḍan al-adwâr as-sab'a*.

(20) *ar-Riḍâ' fi'l-Bâṭin*, the *ta'wîl* of the prescriptions of *shar'at* as based on the relevant verses of the Coran. The work is not divided into regular chapters, each section begins with "*al-Qawl fi...*" The subjects are the usual *ṣalât*, *ṣawm*, *tajdîd al-bay'at*, etc. Interesting is *ma'ânî'l-marâtib as-sab'a* i. e. the *da'wat* hierarchy, here oddly running as follows: *Imâm*, *ḥujjat*, *dhû-massâ*, *bâb*, *dâ'î*, *mukallib*, *mu'min*, and so forth. Although utterly boring, this work may deserve careful study because in his speculations the author continually touches on the matters of the organisation of the *da'wat* system, on which Ismaili authors are generally not talkative.

(21) *Ta'wîl al-ḥurûf al-mu'jama*, Hurufite-like speculations.

(22) *Ta'wîl Sûrat an-Nisâ'*.

(23) *Sîrat Ibn Hawshab*, lost, quoted in *ar-Risâlat al-Wahîda* (q.v.), probably not really the work of Ja'far b. Manṣûrî'l-Yaman.

Two works are sometimes added to the list of Ja'far's composition: *K. al-Âlim wa'l-Ghulâm* (cf. no. 10 above), and *K. al-Adilla*, which is usually included into the "13 *Risâlas*" of Ḥamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî, q.v.



II. THE LITERATURE OF THE CLASSIC FATIMID PERIOD

Nasafî or *Nakhshabî*. His name is variously given by different sources as Abû 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nasafî (or Nakhshabî). Nâsir-i Khusraw calls him (*Khawân al-Ikhwân*, 112, 113, 115 and *Jâmi' al-Hikmatayn*, Text, 171-172) Abû'l-Ḥasan Nakhshabî, *shaykh-i shahîd*. He was executed in 331/942 on the charge of heresy. I have already discussed at length the question about him and his book in my "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism", sec. ed. (A-8) 1955, pp. 87-122 ("Early Controversy in Ismailism").

(24) *K. al-Maḥṣûl*, apparently the earliest important book in the Fatimid literature. There are many doubts as to its author. 'Abdu'l-Qâhir al-Baghdâdî (*al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, p. 277) says that the book was composed by a certain *dâ'i* "known as al-Bazdahî". It is not clear whether this Bazdahî and Nakhshabî are one and the same person. In my paper mentioned above I have emphasised the strange fact that although a special (voluminous) book, *K. al-Iṣlâḥ*, was composed by the learned Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî, the latter never mentions the name of the author. Still more strange is the fact that later on the controversy was taken up by Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîdu'd-Dîn al-Kirmânî, who in his well-known *K. al-Riyâḍ* continually refers to his predecessors, Abû Ḥâtim and Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijzî by their names, but *never* does this in regard to the author of *al-Maḥṣûl*. This circumstance seems really puzzling. Or should we think as follows: the name of Nakhshabî, a proved heretic, executed by the government, could compromise the doctrine with which the later authors had to deal. As *al-Maḥṣûl* was widely known amongst the Ismailis, it was no great fault to omit the name of the author.

It is not easy to reconstruct its contents from the references found in the *K. al-Iṣlâḥ* and *K. ar-Riyâḍ*, because they deal chiefly with isolated statements, not necessarily quoted in the order in which they occur in the original book. It appears as if the



Maḥṣūl devoted some space to the discussion of the questions of cosmogony and theosophy as also the *ta'wīl* of the Corano-Biblical mythology which is largely discussed by the author of *al-Iṣlāḥ*.

Nakhshabī was also the author of some other books. Ḥamid ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī (*Rāḥatū'l-'Aql*, 22) vaguely refers to his "books" (*kutub*), but Ibn Nadīm (268) mentions:

(25) *K. 'Inwānu'd-Dīn*.

(26) *K. Uṣūl ash-Shar'*.

(27) *K. ad-Da'wat al-Munjiya*.

None of these is apparently preserved. In a private collection I saw a booklet on cosmogony and astronomy, with the title "*K. Kawn al-'Ālam*", but there was no means to ascertain whether the statement of its being a work of Nakhshabī was reliable.

Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī. His full name was Abū Ḥātim 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (b. Ḥamdān) ar-Rāzī al-Warsinānī (?) Ibn Nadīm (266) says that he was "the chief *dā'i*" of Daylam (i.e. not the district of Daylam, but the state of the Daylamites, or Būyides, in Northern Persia, founded in 320/932). The same Ibn Nadīm says that he was originally a Manichee (Thanawī), then became a Dahrite (materialist-atheist), and later a *zindīq* (Christian gnostic). Such a precise information about his "spiritual curriculum" sounds suspicious, and most probably is someone's "reconstruction" by putting together signs of his indubitable solid erudition in the matter of the religions of his time. There are in fact signs of his acquaintance with the Manichees, he even refers to Mani's book *Shaburqān* (*Shāhpuhrqān*). He undoubtedly was in close contact with the Christian, probably Armenian, church, had much information about the Zoroastrians, Mazdakites, Bihāfarīdīs, whom he mentions in his works. Not much sensible may be construed from these vague references, but the impression is that he perhaps may have belonged to an early Armenian adoptionist sect (like the later Thonrakīs) who were abusively called Manichees, but this, certainly, is merely a possibility.

It is unfortunate that there is no chronological information about him. I searched his main books, *K. az-Zīna*, *al-Iṣlāḥ* and

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A'lâm an-Nubuwwat, quite fruitlessly, and found nothing what may be an indication as to the time of their composition. Anyhow, he reached high position in the *da'wat* service, and, as Sayyid-nâ Hamîdu'd-Dîn writes in his *K. ar-Riyâd* (cf. "Early Controversy", p. 90), he was one of the experts appointed by the headquarters for the correction and re-adjustment of religious beliefs in different local Ismaili communities. In the fifth vol. of the *'Uyûn al-Akhhâr* of Idrîs b. Ḥasan it is narrated that his *K. az-Zîna* met with much admiration at the court of *Mawlâ-nâ al-Qâ'im* (322-334/934-946). With all this, it may be true that he had not much schooling. Sayyid-nâ Hamîdu'd-Dîn, in his *K. ar-Riyâd*, in many places draws the attention of the reader to the fact that Abû Ḥâtim incorrectly cites *al-Maḥṣûl* in his *al-Iṣlâḥ*, and makes mistakes in his statements. It may be provisionally regarded that he flourished about the middle of the fourth/tenth c. The statement, which is found in the works of various Western authors, that he was executed in the same year, 331/942, as Nakhshabî, is apparently erroneous.

(28) *Kitâb az-Zîna*, "The Book of Beauty", is mentioned by Ibn Nadîm (268) as "a large book, about 400 leaves". The Ismailis class it as kind of a dictionary (*luḡat*). In fact it is rather a religious encyclopaedia, arranged according to the groups of cognate subjects. It opens with the discussion of letters of the alphabet, *hurûf*, then the "glorious names of God" (in the ms. to which I had access these occupy no less than 600 pages out of a thousand). Then eschatology, sects (very meagre), some notes on geography (also miserably meagre), and a mixture of subjects (wine, *nabîdh*, demonology, games, and so forth). It is being edited in Egypt, and two fascicles have already been published, as I have heard.

(29) *Kitâb al-Iṣlâḥ*. It is probably the result of the commission given to the author to correct errors found in *K. al-Maḥṣûl*, mentioned above (24). In the copies which I saw the work begins abruptly, and it is quite possible that the *muqaddima* and a portion of the beginning of the book have been lost in antiquity. At the beginning there probably was a division into *bâbs*, but further on in the text the "*bâbs*" disappear, and "*faṣls*" replace them. However, there are many signs of the possible misplacement of



the leaves, – no wonder, for a big book may easily become loose in binding and leaves mixed. It touches on the matters of cosmogony, but the bulk is entirely devoted to the interpretation of the Coran myths as symbols for the Ismaili *da'wat* ideas. The matter was discussed in detail in my "Early Controversy", pp. 91–94. Prof. Ḥasan Minuchehr, of the University of Tehran, is preparing a critical edition of the text which, we may hope, will be thoroughly indexed and annotated.

(30) *A'lām an-Nubuwwat*, apparently the most interesting of Abū Ḥātim's works. It may be classed as the work on theosophical controversy with the famous early Islamic philosopher and physician, Muḥammad b. Zakariyā ar-Rāzī, of the Samanid time, who d. in Baghdad or Ray in 311 or 320/923 or 932, leaving many valuable works which were translated into Latin, and much used in Mediaeval Europe.

The work answers the questions put by this "*mulḥid*", Rhazes, as to why God chooses certain persons for a high Divine mission in preference to others. Why and how the blood shed in the process of fighting for the attainment of the aims of that Divine mission is lawful (that is to say, not a crime). The ideas of God, *nafs*, *hayūlā*, time, five elements, etc., are discussed. The principle of *taqlīd*. *Nazar wa baḥṭh*, or critical examination of beliefs, *uṣūl*. Condemnation of the judgement by analogy, *qiyās*. Great Prophets, their mission, and divergence in their ideas, ideals and preaching. The reasons for which God has chosen Muḥammad or Jesus, etc., for their high mission. Miracle recognised and regarded as necessary. The Coran is the greatest miracle. Reason alone is insufficient to explain the structure of the universe. Proofs of religious knowledge being superior to knowledge coming from other sources.

The late Dr. P. Kraus worked over an edition of the *A'lām an-Nubuwwat*, and some of his notes were published by him in his "Raziana I" and "Raziana II" in the "Orientalia" 34 and 35.

(31) *K. ar-Raj'ā*. It is referred to as the author's own work in the *K. az-Zīna*.

(32) *K. al-Jāmi'*, on *fiqh*, mentioned by Ibn Nadīm (268). Both these works are un-known to the Musta'lian Ismailis, and apparently were lost long ago.

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Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijistânî (or *Sijzî*, or *Sigzî*), surnamed *Bandâna*, most probably for *Bandâna'î* or *Bandânî*, after *Bandân*, a district in the Northern part of Sistan. It is often erroneously stated that he was executed at the same time as *Nakhshabî*, i.e. 331/942. In his *Kitâb al-Ifṭikhâr* (cf. no. 36) in the 9th *bâb*, dealing with eschatology, he mentions that since the death of the Prophet (11. A.H.) more than 350 years have passed (at the date of his writing), that is, it was the year 361 A.H. A similar statement is found in *bâb* 13. But it is possible that the date of his death cannot be fixed before 386/996 because one of his treatises (not mentioned in F.), *al-Mabda' wa'l-Ma'âd* (see No. 40), is dedicated to the Imam *al-Hâkim bi-armi'l-lâh* who in that year ascended the throne. He was probably not the same person as "Abû Ya'qûb, the *khalîfa* of the Imâm", mentioned by Ibn Nadîm (268). He was a prolific author, but not of high theological attainments, and specialised on popular treatises, evidently intended for the beginners, as his *Ifṭikhâr*, *Sullam an-Najât*, etc. Many of his works remain incomplete, some are lost.

(33) *Ithbâtü'n-Nubuwwat*, apparently his largest and most interesting work. He refers in it to Daysanites, Marcionites, Manichees ("of China"), Mazdakites, Bihâfarîdis, Zoroastrians and so forth. The work is divided into seven *maqâlas*, each of which is subdivided into 12 *faṣls*. *Maqâlas*: 1. *at-tafâwut al-mawjûd fî'l-makhlûqîn*; 2. *fî anna-hu lammâ thabat anna li-hadhâ'l-'âlam Ṣânî'an Ḥazîman wajab an yakûn min-hu Rasûlan ilâ'l-maṣnû'în*; 3. *ithbât an-nubuwwât* (sic) *min jihat al-ashyâ' at-ṭabî'iyya*; 4. *ithbât an-nubuwwat min jihat al-ashyâ' ar-rûḥâniyya*; 5. *fî anna'l-anbiyâ' kânû muttafiqîn fî'l-ḥaqâ'iq wa kânû mukhtalifîn fî'z-zawâhir*; 6. *kamiyyat adwâri-him wa mâ bayn kull dawr wa'd-dawr al-âkhar*; 7. *al-'ajâ'ib al-mawjûdât fî'l-Qur'ân wa'sh-sharî'at wa'd-dalâ'il 'alâ ithbât nubuwwat Muḥammad*. (As I was told, in the majority of copies there are only fragments of the *maqâla* VI, and the *maqâla* VII is lost).

(34) *K. al-Mawâzîn*, in 19 *mîzâns*: 1. *mukhâlafatu'l-ḥaqq*; 2. *ijâb as-sa'âdat li-man ajâb da'wat al-Ḥaqq*; 3. *kayfiyyat al-burhân*; 4. *ijâb ma'rifat al-Mubdi'*; 5. *salb al-wujûh* (sic) *îyyâ-hu*; 6. *salb qidma*; 7. *salb at-tashbîh wa't-ta'ṭîl*; 8. *tawḥîd bi't-taqrîb*; 9. *amr wa ma'rifat 'ibâdati-hi*; 10. *'aql wa ma'rifat asmâ'i-hi*; 11. *al-furû' ath-thalâtha al-mutafarri'a minâ'l aṣṣayn*; 12.? 13. *nuṭaqâ'*; 14. *usus*; 15. *a'imma*; 16.



ḥujaj wa du'āt; 17. *al-Qā'im*; 18. *thawāb al-muḥsinīn*; 19; *ath-thawāb al-abadī huwa'l-'ilm at-ta'yīdī*.

(35) *Tuḥfat al-mustajīb* (or *mustajībīn*) dealing with *Bārī*, *amr*, *kalima*, *'aql*, *sābiq*, *qaḍā*, *hayūlā*, *naḥs*, *lawḥ*, *'arsh*, *thānī*, *lālī*, *qadar*, *ṣūrat*, *shams*, *qamar*, *aṣlān*, *jidd*, *fath*, *khayāl*, *ma'nā al-ḥurūf as-sab'a*, *man yuqābilu-hum minā'n-nuṭaqā'*. (Mr. 'Arif Thāmir, of Salamiyya, has prepared an edition of this text from a Syrian ms.)

(36) *Kitāb al-Iftikhār*, another similar elementary work, in 17 *bābs*: 1. *ma'rifat tawḥīd Allāh*; 2. *ma'rifat amr Allāh*; 3. *ma'rifat al-aṣlayn*; 4. *ma'rifat al-jidd wa'l-fath wa'l-khayāl*; 5. *ma'rifat al-ḥurūf al-'ulwiyyat sab'a*; 6. *ma'rifat ar-risālat*; 7. *ma'rifat al-wiṣāyat*; 8. *ma'rifat al-Imāmat*; 9. *ma'rifat al-Qiyāmat*; 10. *ma'rifat al-ba'th*; 11. *m. ath-thawāb wa'l-'iqāb*; 12. *m. ma'khadh at-ta'wīl minā'l-Qur'ān*; 13. *m. al-wudū' wa'l-tahārat*; 14. *m. aṣ-ṣalāt*; 15. *m. az-zakāt*; 16. *m. aṣ-ṣawm*; 17. *m. al-ḥajj ilā'l-Bayt*.

(37) *Sullam an-Najāt*, another elementary work of a similar kind, as far as I could ascertain incomplete at the end. Cf. my "Book of Righteousness" in "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism" (sec. ed. pp. 29-59). The work is not divided into *bābs*, but the subjects, as stated in the introduction, follow the Coranic "creed" of belief in God, His angels, His (sacred revealed) books, His Apostles, Resurrection, quickening of the dead, Paradise and Hell. As far as I heard, in all copies the work breaks on the fifth section, *ba'th*, and as a continuation are added fragments from the *K. ar-Rushd wa'l-Hidāyat*, discussed above (no. 11) which has no connection with the original work. The work contains references to the Manichees (*Thanawiyya*), Daysanites, Sabeans, Majūs, etc.

(38) *al-Yanabī'*, yet one more elementary work, divided into 40 *yanbū's*, springs or sources,—spiritual, *rūḥānī*, as explained in the preface: 1. *ma'nā'l-yanbū'*; 2. *huwiyyat al-Mubdī'*; 3. *idāfat amr Allāh ilā ḥarfayn*; 4. *bayān 'ālam al-'aql wa'n-naḥs*; 5. *inna'l-'aql al-awwal mubdī'*; 6. *qabl al-Awwal lā yatawahham shay'*; 7. *al-'Aql lā yabūd*; 8. *al-'Aql sākin*; 9. *al-'Aql qā'im bi'l-quwwa*; 10. *ithbāt 'aql mujarrad*; 11. *mukhāṭabat al-'Aql li'n-naḥs*; 12. *kayfiyyat ittisāl fawā'id al-'Aql bi'n-naḥs*; 13. *al-ays lā yaṣīr laysan*; 14. *al-aysiyyāt kullu-hā dhawāt ghāyāt*; 15. *as-su'āl lima khalaq Allāh al-'ālam maḥāl mumtana'*; 16. *ibdā' al-'Aql quwā kathīrat*; 17. *ithbāt naḥs kullīyyat min-hā tanba'ath al-juz'īyyāt fi'l-bashar*; 18. *fi'l-bashar min ajzā' jawhar minā'n*



nafs al-kulliyya; 19. *al-aflāk bi-jamī‘ quwā-hā wa ḥarakāti-hā fī asf an-nafs*; 20. *kayfiyyat ḥarakāt al-falak ‘alā murād an nafs...*; 21. *Al-lāh bi-kull makān lā yaliq bi’l-khalq al-awwal faḍlan ‘ani’l-mubdī‘*; 22. *ibdā‘ al-insān*; 23. *kayfiyyat ‘ibādat al-Mubdī‘...*; 24. *Malā‘ikat Al-lāh lā yuḥṣī-hā ‘adad*; 25. *ash-sharr lā aṣl la-hu bi’l-ibdā‘*; 26. *al-quwā’l-ṭabī‘iyya lā qadr la-hā ‘inda’l-quwā’r-rūḥāniyya*; 27. *ath-thawāb huwā’l-‘ilm*; 28. *ma’nā’l-Jannat wa’n-Nār*; 29. *kayfiyyat at-tafāḍul bayna’l-muthābīn*; 30. *ash-shahādat*; 31. *ma’nā’ṣ-ṣalīb li’l-Masīḥ*; 32. *ittiḥāq aṣ-ṣalīb ma’a’sh-shahādat*; 33. *al-‘ālam lā ṣūrat la-hu ‘inda’l-Mubdī‘ qabl al-ibdā‘*; 34. *az-zawj al-murakkab al-ladhī yatlī’l-arba’a wa huwa’l-silla*; 35. *aḥad lā yuballigh martabat al-‘Aql*; 36. *huwiyyat al-kathrat min ‘illat wāḥida hiya amr Allāh*; 37. *huwiyyat Ṣāḥib az-zamān*; 38. *li’l-bashar ‘awd ilā thawāb abadī*; 39. *ma’nā al-kalimat li’l-Mubdī‘*; 40. *kayfiyyat ittiṣāl at-ta’yīd bi’l-mu’ayyadīn fī’l-‘ālam al-jismānī*. Edited and translated into French by Prof. H. Corbin in his “Trilogie Ismaélienne”, Paris-Teheran, 1961 (Transl. pp. 5–128, text pp. 1–98.)

(39) *al-Maqālīd al-Malakūtiyya*, divided into many *iqlds*, referred to as the work of the author in the *Sullam an-najāt*, extract in *Azhār* i.

(40) *al-Mabda’ wa’l-ma’ād*, a short *risāla*, divided into three *qisms*, on the usual theosophic problems: I. *fī ithbāt at-tawḥīd li-Ṣāni‘ al-‘ālam*; II. *fī māhiyyat mabda’ adh-dhawāt min al-Lawḥ al-karīm*; III. *fī mā taṣṭir ilay-hi’n-nafs an-nāṭiqā*. The name of the author is mentioned in the heading, but does not appear in the text. In the *muqaddima* the Imam al-Ḥākim *bi-amr Allāh* is called the “*Imām al-‘aṣr*”. Unfortunately, it seems that no books are referred to in the treatise which would help us to check the date of composition. The work is not referred to in the *Fihrist al-Majdū‘*, but is found in a private collection, occupying 36 pages of small size. It is interesting that the question of *tanāsukh* is touched upon in the second *qism*, - exactly the problem which was violently attacked by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his works.

(41) *Musliyat al-aḥzān*, on the meritoriousness of patience in sorrow.

(42) *Kitāb al-Wā‘iz*, on moral principles.

(43) *ar-Risālat al-Bāhira*, a short opusculum of theosophical contents, about 27 small pages. Mentioned by Bīrūnī (*Hind*, 32).



(44) *al-Radd ‘alā man waqaf ‘inda’l-falak al-muḥīṭ minā’l-falā-sifa*. A short treatise, about 17 pp., discussing matters of cosmography and astrology.

(45) *Kitāb al-Bishārāt*, mentioned in some of Sijzī’s works.

(46) *Kitāb an-Nuṣra fī sharḥ mā qāla-hu’sh-Shaykh al-ḥamīd fī kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*. Abū Ya‘qūb’s answer to the criticism of Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī in his *K. al-Iṣlāḥ*. Cf. my “Studies in Early Persian Ismailism” (second ed., pp. 87—122, “An Early Controversy in Ismailism”), and above under *K. al-Maḥṣūl* and *K. al-Iṣlāḥ*. The work is lost. *Ash-Shaykh al-ḥamīd* obviously is Abū Ḥātim.

Works mentioned by Bīrūnī (Hind, 32), ‘Abd al-Qāhir, *Farq*, 267, and *Zād al-musāfirīn* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 422:

(47) *Asās ad-Da‘wat* (?);

(48) *Ta’wīl ash-sharā‘i* (or *sharī‘at*?);

(49) *Sūs (usūs?) al-baqā* (or *an-ni‘ām?*)

Works doubtful:

(50) *Sarā‘ir al-ma‘ād wa’l-ma‘āsh*, divided into 7 *faṣls*. Sometimes said to be by Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, as stated in F.

(51) *Khazīnat al-adīllat*, divided into 28 *khizānas*, on Ismaili ‘aqā‘id, often treated as one of the 13 *risālas* of *Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī*. F. calls it the work by an anonymous author.

(52) *al-Kitāb al-Gharīb fī ma‘nā’l-Iksīr*, perhaps the same as *Ma‘rifat al-Iksīr* (in a private collection), a work on alchemy.

(53) *Mu‘nis al-qulūb*.

(54) *Risālat fī Ta’līf al-Arwāḥ*.

(55) *R. al-Amn minā’l-ḥayrat*, all three in a private collection, all appear very doubtful.

Work in Persian:

(56) *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, perhaps originally written in Arabic and later, but still at an early period, translated into Persian. An old copy of it, from the library of the late Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqawī of Tehran, was edited by Prof. H. Corbin, as no. 1 in the series of *Bibliothèque Iranienne* of the Institut des Études iraniennes de l’Université de Paris (Tehran, 1949), with valuable notes, comments and an index. It is apparently this work which is mentioned by ‘Abd al-Qāhir in his *Farq*, p. 267, under the title of *Kashf al-Asrār*.



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al-Manṣûr bi'l-lâh, Abû 'z-Zâhir Ismâ'îl, the third Fatimid caliph (334—341/946—953). In the case of this Imam, as also of al-Mu'izz, some works are mentioned of what may be called double authorship, "inspired" by the Imam and actually written by Qâḍî Nu'mân (q.v.)

(57) *Tathbût al-Imâmat li-Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî*, a small booklet, without division into chapters.

(58) *al-Waṣiyyat*.

Al-Mu'izz li-dîn Allâh, Abû Tamîm Ma'add, the fourth Fatimid caliph (341—365/953—975). It is also difficult to ascertain whether he was the real author, or Qâḍî Nu'mân.

(59) *R. ar-Rawḍa*, principal prescriptions of religion, apparently the same as *Ta'wîl ash-Sharî'at*, or *Ta'wîl ash-Sharâ'i*, or *As-râr ash-Sharî'at*, etc. It seems to be very rare now, although often referred to in earlier works.

(60) *al-Munâjjât* or *al-Ad'iya*, prayers for every day of the week, a book of 93 pages. Some passages apparently include interesting allusions. It is difficult to find it out whether it is genuine.

(61) *ar-Risâlat ilâ'l-Ḥasan al-Qarmaṭî*, mentioned by al-Maqrîzî in *Itti'âz*, 134-143.

(62) *Ar-Risâlat al-Masṭḥiyya*, comp. in 358/969 (ms. Paris 131)

Cf. L. Massignon, "Recueil de textes inédits" (Paris, 1929), pp. 215, 217, where it is called *Maqâlat Masṭḥiyya*, addressed to bishop Paul of Damietta.

(63) *Dustûr al-Munajjimîn*, a work on astrology with a very interesting introduction from which it is possible to see that the unknown author, who wrote about the middle of the iv/x c., was an Ismaili. Portions edited and discussed in M. de Goeje's *Mémoire sur les Carmathes de Bahraïn* (1880), ms. Paris 5968.



"*Qādī Nu'mān*", i.e. *Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān b. Abī 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Mansūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyūn at-Tamīmī al-Qayrawānī*, d. 29 Jum. 11 363/27—iii—974 (*'Uyūn VI*). He was the chief, "classic", exponent of the *Ẓāhir* element in Ismailism which always had priority over the esoteric doctrine, and therefore occupies quite an exceptional position in the history of Ismaili literature. As a young man he joined the service of the Fatimids under al-Mahdī in 313/925. For details of his biography, ancestors and descendants, see the article by A.A.A.Fyzee in the *JRAS*, 1934, pp. 1—32. Whether he was originally a Malikī, or Ithna-'ashari (which, perhaps, may be more likely), and when he was converted to Ismailism, cannot be ascertained without special research. Anyhow, experts in Ithna-'ashari theology always claimed him as one of their own, regarded his main work, the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* as one of the 14 of their "classics", and even advanced a theory that it was composed in reality by Ibn Bābūya (d. 381 or 391/991 or 1001). They explain Ismaili elements in his works as incorporated for the sake of *taqiyya*. Anyhow, this work has unique distinction of being in use now for almost exactly 1000 years. He was a prolific author, but a greater part of his works have been lost.

(64) *Da'ā'im al-Islām* (*fī dhikr al-ḥalāl wa'l-ḥarām wa'l-qaḍā' wa'l-aḥkām*), in two vols. It was edited by A. Fyzee (Cairo, 1952—1962). The work really very closely resembles an Ithna-'ashari treatise of its kind, the only substantial difference at first sight being in the opening book, on *walāyat* instead of the usual *kitāb at-tawḥīd*. This *kitāb al-walāyat* is a really good summary of what most probably was the basic ideas of the religion under the early Fatimids. It is still much admired by the Musta'lians of India, and well deserves a good translation. The *Da'ā'im al-Islām* is connected with several auxiliary works which are also regarded to be by *Qādī Nu'mān*.

(65) *Mukhtaṣar al-āthār* (or *Ikhtisār al-āthār*). An abridgment of the preceding, omitting the initial *K. al-walāyat* of the *Da'ā'im*, opening straight with *K. at-Ṭahārat*. There is something strange in it: according to tradition, the *Da'ā'im* was compiled under the order of Imam al-Mu'izz *bi'l-lāh* who ascended the



throne in 341/953. And in the introduction to the *Mukhtaṣar* it is stated that it was compiled in 348/959, and 'Alī b. Nu'mān was permitted to teach it (as is stated in A. Fyzee's article, p. 25). The dates, if true, show a surprisingly quick tempo in literary activity of the time. Is not the name of Imam al-Mu'izz in this connection "symbolical"?

(66) *Ta'wīl ad-Da'ā'im* (as it is commonly called, the full title being *Tarbiyat al-mu'minin bi't-tawfiq 'alā hudūd bāṭin 'ilm ad-dīn fī ta'wīl Da'ā'im al-Islām*), dealing with the inner meaning, i.e. esoteric implications, of the text of the *Da'ā'im al-Islām*. According to the *Uyūn* (as mentioned by A.A.A. Fyzee, op. cit.) it was divided into 12 *juz's*, each *juz'* composed of ten *majlises*, but it seems that only first six *juz's* are preserved. Neither the *juz's* nor *majlises* have titles explaining their contents (usually: *majlis . . . th* of the *juz' . . . th*), but here and there in the middle of *majlises* there are headings, apparently corresponding with those in the *Da'ā'im*. There is very little at the beginning on *īmān*, and practically the whole of the bulky volume deals with two subjects, namely *ṭahārat* and *ṣalāt*. Strangely, after the opening three lines of pious invocations, the author says: *qad sama'tum . . . fī-mā taqaddam . . .*, implying that this is not the beginning of the whole book. It would be also interesting to find out whether references are to the *Da'ā'im* directly, or to the *Mukhtaṣar al-āthār*. It may be noted that references to the *Da'ā'im* are apparently never in the first person, "as I said in . . .", but always impersonal: "as said in . . ." Does it mean that it is in reality a work by some one else? Although I am no authority in such matters, it seems to me that the style of the book is like that of the books of the Neo-Yamanite period, when exactly all kinds of *majlises* were the fashion of the day. It would be interesting to discover reliable indications of its being the work of Qāḍī Nu'mān himself, as the tradition believes it to be.

(67) *al-Yanbū'*, another work on *fiqh* ascribed to the authorship of Qāḍī Nu'mān. It is only concerned with the matters dealt with in the second vol. of the *Da'ā'im*, although not coinciding with the text of it. It is considered as of great authority, propped up by probably legendary references to Imam al-Mu'izz.



(68) *K. al-Ikhhâr*, said to be an abridgment of *Kitâb al-Îdâh* which itself is lost. It is divided into 13 *ajzâ*. Copies of it are very rare.

(69) *al-Iqtisâr*, another well-known work on *fiqh*, in two volumes, an abridgment of the *Ikhhâr*.

(70) *al-Qaṣīdat al-Muntakhaba*, a kind of a versified conspectus of legal rules, sometimes simply called *Urjūza*.

(71) *Kitâb yawm wa layla*, on prayers to be said in day and in night time.

(72) *Kitâb al-Ṭahârat*, on ritual ablutions and prayers.

(73) *Ikhtilâf Uṣûl al-Madhâhib*, written in a very evasive style in which the author does not mention the *madhhab* which he discusses, and leaves it to the reader to guess it. A strange manner for a jurist of high standing who should be accustomed to precise formulation of the case. Perhaps the work was "diplom- atized" in later revisions. A suspicious detail is the advertise- ment of the work as being approved by several successive Imams (which ?)

(74) *ar-Risâla Dhât al-bayân fî'r-radd 'alâ Ibn Qutayba*, incom- plete.

(75) *Asâs at-Ta'wîl*, revealing the "inner sense" of the dog- ma of *walâya*, apparently with particular regard to the first book of the *Da'd'im*. It was, as testified by tradition, translated into Persian by Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad fî'd-dîn ash-Shîrâzî (d.470/ 1077). I incidentally saw a copy of that supposed translation, but its language was quite modern, the impression being that it was the work of an Indian. It would be very interesting in- deed to find a really old copy of the translation. Cf. no. 169.

(76) *Iftitâh ad-da'wa wa ibtidâ' ad-dawla*, comp. in 346/957. A history of the beginning of the Fatimid caliphate. It was ob- viously composed during that period in which, according to Ibn Nadîm, Ismaili works were freely circulated to outside world, and were written for this purpose. In fact it appears that all histori- ans dealing with the subject invariably used it as the source of their information, so that the original work does not contain anything substantially new. Copies of it are very common.

(77) *al-Manâqib wa'l-Mathâlib*, or *Manâqib banî Hâshim wa Mathâlib banî Umayya*, in two volumes, sometimes giving inter-



esting information, in strongly Shi'ite colouring, concerning outstanding early Alids and the alleged impiety of the Umayyads. It is also sometimes called *al-Manâqib li-ahl bayt Rasûl Allâh*.

(78) *Sharḥ al-Akḥbâr*, as it is usually called, or, with its full title, the *Sharḥ al-Akḥbâr fî faḍâ'il an-Nabiyyi'l-Mukhtâr wa âli'l-Muṣṭafî al-akḥyâr minâ'l-A'immat al-aḥdâr*, in 16 *juz*'s. An interesting and important work because its historical information is sometimes derived from the sources which no longer exist. The *ajzâ'* deal with: 1. 'ilm and other supreme faculties of the Imam; 2. 'Alî was the first to embrace Islam; 3. *jihâds* of 'Alî; 4. his wars against heretics; 5. on heretics who opposed 'Alî; 6. his war against Mu'âwiya; 7. a refutation of the *Hashwiyya* who extol the first caliphs; 8. Divine *amr* to obey 'Alî and his successors; the supreme wisdom of 'Alî; 9. Revelation of the Coran concerning 'Alî and the Imams; 10. on the virtues of 'Alî and the promises of the Prophet to enter Paradise to all who follow him; 11. on revelations concerning the *ahl al-Bayt*; 12. on the virtues of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn; 13. the story of Ḥasan, his death by poison, and the story of Ḥusayn; 14. Imam Ja'far b. Muḥammad, his son Ismâ'il and grandson Muḥammad, the *mastûrîn* Imams; Messianic movements and Shi'ite sects of the time; 15. the preaching of al-Mahdî and his miracles; 16. *faḍâ'il* of the Shi'ites (*Shi'at 'Alî*). The most interesting seems to be the *juz*' 14, the information contained in it has been systematized in my paper "Early Shi'ite Movements" in JBBRAS, 1941, pp.1—23.

(79) *al-Majâlis wa'l-musâyarât wa'l-mawâqif wa't-tawqî'ât*, the author's interviews with Imam al-Mu'izz, dealing with various religious questions, tradition, etc., of rather encyclopaedic nature.

(80) *Kitâb al-Himma fî âdâb atbâ' al-A'imma*, dealing with the beliefs, principles and rules of behaviour, religious, social, financial (as in paying religious taxes), duties of the followers of Imams to them, the etiquette to be observed in personal contacts with them, etc. In other words, what should an Ideal Ismaili know. The work furnishes very valuable sidelights on Ismailism in life as it was under the earlier Fatimids. It would form a very interesting continuation to an essay (in Russian) by the late Dr. C. Inostrantsev, "A Ceremonial ride out of the Fatimid caliph" (St. Petersburg, 1905), based on various general histori-



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cal works, such as by Maqrizî, Ibn Taghribirdî, etc. The book was edited, with an introduction, by the late M.Kamil Hussein, Cairo, 1948.

(81) *Mafâtîh an-Ni'ma fî dhikr imtihân al-khalq fî anfusi-him wa amwâli-him*, not mentioned in the 'Uyûn. It is a pamphlet of 56 pages, on the necessity to obey the Imams and their financial demands, in accordance with the verse of the Coran ix,11. It is an answer to the inquiry of a certain Abû'l-Hasan al-Baghdâdî, whom the author calls *akhû-nâ*.

(82) *Ta'wîl ar-ru'yâ*, interpretation of a certain dream of the Imam al-Mu'izz. According to Dr. P. Kraus in his review, in the 'Uyûn VI, in which a dream of al-Mu'izz is mentioned, and the present work is quoted, it is called *Kitâb muwâzât at-ta'wîl li-ta'bîr ar-ru'yâ*.

Works which have been lost:

(83) *Kitâb al-Idâh*, a large compendium of *fiqh* (perhaps of the type of *al-Kâfî fî 'ilmi'd-dîn* by Kulînî) which included all the relevant *hadîths* with their *isnâds*. (From time to time news comes from Syria that a copy of this *Idâh* is still preserved by the local Ismailis, non-Aghakhani Nizaris. Sometimes a book is produced, with the title *al-Idâh fî...* I have seen two such *idâhs*, but both had nothing in common with the work of Qâdî Nu'mân except for the first word in its title.

(84) *Ikhtisâr al-Idâh*, an abbreviation of the preceding.

(85) *Kitâb al-Ittifâq wa'l-Istirâq*, a work in 40 chapters (*juz's*) on differences between the legal opinion of different schools of Islam and of the Imams.

(86) *Kitâb al-Muqtaṣir*, an abbreviation of the preceding work.

(87) *Kayfiyyat aṣ-ṣalât*, controversial discussion of the rules of prayer in various schools of Islam.

(88) *Minhâj al-farâ'id*, on the law of inheritance, not mentioned in the 'Uyûn.

(89) *al-Miṣriyya fî Radd 'alâ sh-Shâfi'i*, on controversy against Sunnism.

(90) *Ar-Radd 'alâ Aḥmad b. Shurayḥ* (or *Surayj*) *al-Baghdâdî*.

(91) *Dâmigh al-Mûjîz fî'r-radd 'alâ'l-'Atakî* ('*Itakî*, *Fatakl?*).

(92) *Nahj as-Sabîl ilâ ma'rifat 'ilm at-Ta'wîl*, in two volumes.

(93) *Ḥudûd al-ma'rifat fî tafsîr al-Qur'ân wa'l-Tanbîh 'alâ't-Ta'wîl*.

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- (94) *Kitâb fî'l-Imâmat*, in four volumes.
(95) *al-Ta'âqub* (or *la'aqqub*) *wa'l-Intiqâd*.
(96) *Kitâb ad-du'â*.
(97) *Kitâb al-Hulâ wa'th-Thiyâb*.
(98) *Kitâb ash-Shurûṭ*.
(99) *Dhât al-Minan* (*qaṣida*).
(100) *Dhât al-Miḥan* (versified), on Mukhlad, the leader of the Berber Kharijite uprising against the Fatimids.
(101) *Ma'âlim al-Mahdî*.
(102) *ar-Risâla ilâ'l-Murshid ad-Dâ'i bi-Miṣr fi Tarbiyat al-mu'minîn*.
(103) *Manâmât al-A'imma*.
(104) *at-Taqrî' wa't-Ta'nîf*.
(105) *Asâs an-Nuṣṣâ*, not mentioned either in the *Uyûn*, nor in F., but quoted as Qâḍî Nu'mân's work in the *Lubb al-ma'ârif* of 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd (cf. no. 245). Is this merely a lapsus calami for *Asâs at-Ta'wîl*?

Works which are supposed, apparently quite baselessly, to be by Qâḍî Nu'mân:

(106) *Taqwîm al-aḥkam*, apparently a comparatively modern work on legal matters.

(107) *ar-Râḥat wa't-tasallî*, an opuscle divided into seven *faṣls*: 1. *quwwat al-istiḥâ'at*; 2. *kayfiyyat al-wahy*; 3. *ibrâz al-khalq*; 4. *al-farq bayna'l-khâliq wa'l-makhlûq*; 5. *ma'rifat muḥtâj ilâ'l-makân*; 6. *ma'rifat thawâb al-'aql wa'iqâbi-hi*; 7. *fî ma'rifati-ka bi-hi 'alâ'l-kamâl wa intiqâli-ka ilay-hi*.

Ibn Hânî, i. e. Abû'l-Qâsim Muḥammad b. Hânî al-Andalusî al-Azdî, born in Seville, served under the Imams al-Manṣûr and al-Mu'izz in N. Africa, and was killed in Barqa in 362/973.

(108) *Dîwân* of poems in praise of the Fatimids, was repeatedly lithographed and printed, cf. B-I, 91 and BS-I, 146-147. Several poems have been translated by R. P. Dewhurst, "Abû Tammâm and Ibn Hânî", in JRAS, 1926.



Tamīm b. Ma'add, the second son of Imam al-Mu'izz, born in 337/948, d. in 374/984.

(109) *Dīwān* of poems in praise of al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz, cf. B-I, 91 and BS-I, 147. Copies of his *Dīwān* appear to be rare. Ms. Leyden, 634.

al-Manṣūr al-Jawdhārī, Abū 'Alī al-'Azīzī, a secretary of Ustādh Jawdhār, a eunuch inspector of palaces under al-Mu'izz.

(110) *Sīrat Ustādh Jawdhār*, said to be written by him at the dictation of his master himself. Edited by M. Kamil Hussein and Dr. M. 'Abd el-Hādī Sha'ira, Cairo, 1954.

Ya'qūb al-Wazīr b. Yūsuf b. Killis, a Fatimid official, d. 4 Dhū'l-ḥijja 380/22-2-991.

(111) *Mansak al-ḥajj al-Kabīr*.

(112) *Kitāb al-fiqh*, also called *Muṣannaḥ al-Wazīr* (in 'Uyūn VI).

Muḥammad b. Zayd, a *dā'ī* under al-'Azīz (365-386/975-996).

(113) *Kitāb al-Balāgh*. Not seen by the author of F. Copies of it are rare.

Ḥasan (or Muḥsin) *b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī* (or Yahdhī, or Mayhadhī, etc., hopelessly corrupted), a *dā'ī* of the time of Imam al-'Azīz. From his work it follows that he tried to preach in Ray, but was met with hostility, escaped, and wrote his epistle which is an excellent summary of the beliefs of Fatimid headquarters.

(114) *Risālat ilā jamā'at ahl Ray*, included in the *Majmū'at-tarbiyat*, ii, and *al-Azhār*, iii. Discussed in W. Ivanow's "Studies



in *Early Persian Ismailism*, second ed., Bombay, 1955, article "Tenth Century Ismaili Da'i in Persia" (pp. 123-140).

Ibn Zûlâq, i. e. Abû Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ibrâhîm Ibn Zûlâq al-Laythî *al-faqîh*, d. 387/998.

(115) *Sîrat al-Qâ'id Jawhar*, apparently an extract from his larger work, *Akhbâr ad-Dawlat al-Mu'izziyya*, cf. BS-I, 230.

Aḥmad b. Ibrâhîm (or Muḥammad) *an Naysâbûrî*, flourished under al-'Azîz and al-Ḥâkim, i. e. towards the end of the fourth/tenth c., and the beginning of the next. Practically nothing is known about him and the country in which he was writing.

(116) *Ithbât al-Imâmat*, a popular booklet, subdivided into *faṣls* without numeration or headings.

(117) *Istîlât al-Imâm 'Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad wa tafarruq ad-du'ât fî'l-jazâ'ir li-ṭalabî-hi wa istiḡâmatî-hi*, based on legend. The text edited by W. Ivanow (together with the *Sîrat Ja'far al-Ḥâjib*) in the "Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts", Egyptian University, 1936 (issued in 1939), pp. 93-133, and translated in W. Ivanow's "Rise of the Fatimids" (Bombay, 1942) pp. 157-183. Translated into Gujrati by Ghulâm 'Alî b. Ismâ'îl under the title of *Kashf az-zalâm fî tarjumat Istîlât al-Imâm* (lith. Bombay, 1334/1916).

(118) *al-Mûjizat al-kâfiya fî âdâb* (or *shurûṭ*) *ad-da'wat wa'l-hudûd*, an interesting work, apparently lost. It is quoted in the *Tuhfat al-qulûb* (no. 216) and *Azhâr*, ii.

(119) *az-Zâhira fî ma'rifat ad-dâr al-âkhira*, on eschatology, divided into seven *bâbs*: 1. on *qabr*; 2. *munkar wa nakîr*; 4.? 5. *rawḍa*; 6. *ḥaḍra*; 7. *Jannat wa'n-Nâr*.

Abû'l-Fawâris Aḥmad b. Ya'qûb, a Syrian *dâ'i* under al-Ḥâkim.

(120) *ar-Risâla fî'l-Imâmat*, in sixteen questions and answers concerning Imamat. Included in MT ii. Details in no. 205 (32).



al-Husayn b. 'Āmir, flourished under al-Hākim.

(121) *Dīwān* of poetry.

(122) *Urjūza*, a versified treatise on elements of religion.

Ẓayd b. Muḥammad b. Faḍl, flourished under al-Hākim.

(123) *al-Maknūna*, in two *juz's*: 1. the *ta'wīl* of verses of the Coran to prove the dogma that the earth cannot remain without the Imam even for a single moment; the Iblises of every *Nāṭiq*, their number in the Coran; 'Alī replies to 38 questions; 2. *ta'wīl*; symbolism of human body; *qiyās*; *athar rūḥ*; *laylat al-qadr*; *nafs*; *rūḥ al-Imām*; *rūḥ al-quds*; *fardāniyyat*; explanation of several verses of the Coran.

Sayyid-nā Ḥamīd ad-dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kirmānī, apparently the most learned and talented Ismaili author of the Fatimid period. He is always given the title of *ḥujjat al-'Irāqayn*, i. e. the chief *dā'i* of both 'Irāqs (i. e. *al-'Irāq al-'Arabī* and *al-'Irāq al-'Ajamī*, or Mesopotamia and N. W. Iran, – not Fārs, as stated by some scholars). He *probably* was a Persian, and surely had some connections with Kirmān, as may be seen from his epistles *al-Hāwiya*, dated 399/1009, and *al-Kāfiya*. The exact date of his death has not been preserved. The latest definite date mentioned in his works is that of the completion of *al-Wā'iẓa*, 408/1017. In the *Rāḥat al-'aql* (p. 20 of the edition), in what undoubtedly is an appendix by some one else, it is stated that he composed his *Tanbīh al-hādī wa'l-mustahdī* in 'Irāq in 411/1021. In his introduction to his edition of *ar-Risālat ad-Durriyya* Dr. M. Kamil Hussein comes to the conclusion (p. 7) that Ḥamīdu'd-dīn was still alive in 412/1021.

It is impossible to ascertain the chronological sequence of his works because very often it is beyond doubt that the titles of his later compositions were inserted by copyists into his earlier works. Thus we find in the *Rāḥat al-'Aql* (p. 364) a reference to *ar-Riyāḍ*, and in the latter a reference to the *Rāḥat al-'aql*. It will probably be possible to get an idea of such sequences



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only when all his extant works are properly studied. He was a prolific author, and although many of his works are lost, a number still exists. As usual, several works, supposed to be by him, are definitely doubtful.

(124) *Râḥat al-‘aql*, in two vols. Copies of it are common, but the author of F. says he had not seen it. It has been edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein (in collaboration with Dr. M. Hilmy) and published in the series “C”, no. 1, of the Ismaili Society, in 1953.

(125) *al-Maṣābīḥ fī ithbât al-Imâmat*, an introduction to the dogma of Imamat, in two *maqâlas* divided into 14 *miṣbâḥs*, subdivided into *burhâns*, 105 altogether. The first *maqâla* deals with the usual proofs of the existence of a Creator, *naṣṣ*, punishment, law (*ṣharâ’i’*), *ta’wîl*, necessity of prophets. The second *maqâla* is devoted to the doctrine of Imamat, in 7 *miṣbâḥs*: the ‘iṣmat of the Imam, impossibility of his being elected, or succeeding without a *naṣṣ*. The Imamat of Ismâ‘îl b. Ja‘far and his descendants, Imamat of al-Ḥâkim. Extracts published by Dr. P. Kraus in “Der Islam”, XIX, 245 sq.

(126) *Ma‘âṣim al-hudâ wa’l-iṣâba fī tafdîl ‘Alî ‘alâ’ṣ-ṣaḥâba*, polemic with al-Jâḥiẓ on the subject of ‘Alî’s superiority over the first three caliphs. Only the second half of the original book is preserved. In all copies which I saw it is stated that it was only the “second half”, and the text opens with the *faṣl* 31 of the third *bâb*. It is divided into five *bâbs*, the first two being lost. The fourth *bâb* (16 *faṣls*) *fī mā ishtaraka fî-hi Abû Bakr wa ‘Alî min al-faḍâ’il*, etc. The fourth *bâb* (4 *faṣls*) *fī dhikr faḍâ’il Abî-Bakr wa mā la-hu minâ’l-khiṭwat wa’l-kirâmat*, etc. In the copies that I saw, in the colophon, blessings are invoked upon Abû ‘Alî al-Manṣûr al-Âmir. As Âmir had the same name as al-Ḥâkim (Abû ‘Alî al-Manṣûr), it is obvious that copyists “corrected” the original version, and the error remained in some copies. The book is not referred to in the *Râḥat al-‘aql*. The work of al-Jâḥiẓ which is attacked is his *K. al-‘Uthmâniyya*. Cf. BS-I, 325-6.

(127) *Tanbîḥ al-hâdî wa’l-mustahdî*, composed, according to the *Râḥat al-‘aql*, 20, as we have seen (p. 40), in 411/1021 (to be verified). It is divided into 28 *bâbs*, altogether in 196 *faṣls* (extracts in *Azhâr* iv). Contains interesting polemics with Zaydis.



Ithna-‘asharis, Ghulât, etc. It chiefly deals with religious and ethical matters and *ta’wil* interpretations.

(128) *al-Aqwâl adh-dhahabiyya*, defence of Abû Hâtim ar-Râzî (who is called *ṣāhib ad-da‘wat bi-jazīrat ar-Ray fî ayâm Mar-dâwîj*, the Ziyârid prince of Jurjân, 316-323/928-935), in his book *A‘lâm an-Nubuwwat* (no. 30) against the famous early philosopher Rhazes, Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyâ ar-Râzî (d. 313/925), in his book *aṭ-Ṭibb ar-Rûḥânî* (cf. B-I, 235, BS-I, 420). It is divided into *qawls*, i.e. quotations from different parts of Rhazes’ book which are discussed at length. The author’s own work, *Kitâb fî Iklîl an-naḥs wa tâji-hâ*, is referred to at the beginning.

(129) *Ma‘âlim ad-dîn*, or *ar-Risâlat al-Waḍiyya* (often referred to in the *Râḥat al-‘aql*: pp. 22, 208, 265, 342, 353, 360), divided into two *maqâlas*, the first dealing with *al-‘ibâdat al-‘ilmiyya*, in 17 *faṣls*, the second, in 8 *faṣls*, dealing with *al-‘ibâdat al-‘amaliyya*, forms of worship, *akhlâq* and other instructive topics. In the text itself the title is given in the form of *ar-Risâlat al-Waḍiyya fî Ma‘âlim ad-dîn*.

(130) *ar-Riyâḍ*, as it is simply called and referred to, with the full title *Kitâb ar-Riyâḍ fî ḥukm bayn ash-shaykhayn, Abî Hâtim ar-Râzî wa Abî Ya‘qûb as-Sijzî fî mâ’khtalafâ fî-hî*, or *K. ar-Riyâḍ bayn ash-shaykhayn*. It is a criticism of Abû Ya‘qûb Sijzî’s *Kitâb an-Nuṣra* (no. 46 above) which is directed against Abû Hâtim ar-Râzî’s *K. al-Isḥâḥ* (no. 29) composed to correct certain statements in the *K. al-Maḥṣûl* (by an-Nakhshabî?) For a detailed analysis of this work see my “Studies in Early Persian Ismailism”, pp. 87-122, “An Early Controversy in Ismailism”. The *Riyâḍ* contains many quotations from *al-Maḥṣûl* and *an-Nuṣra*, both of which are lost. It is divided into ten *bâbs*, subdivided into 157 *faṣls*.

The text of the *Riyâḍ* has been printed in Beirut by a publishing firm, in 1960, with a misleading preface.

(131) *Faṣl al-khiṭâb wa ibânat al-ḥaqq al-mutajallî ‘ani’l-irtiyâb*, a rare work, very doubtful as to its connection with Ḥamîd ad-dîn.

(132) A collection of “13 *risâlas*”, *ar-Rasâ’il ath-Thalâth al-‘ashara*, of which 11 belong to Ḥamîd ad-dîn, and two by others are, for some reason, added.

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(133) *ad-Durriyya fî ma'nât-tawhîd*, a short treatise on theosophy, was edited, 1952, by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein, together with the second *risâla* in the set, *R. an-Naẓm*.

(134) *Risâlat an-Naẓm fî muqâbalat al-'awâlim*, mentioned just above. It deals with theosophic speculations on cosmogony, the *Mubdî'*, *'Aql*, etc.

(135) *ar-Risâlat ar-Raḍiyya*, forming a kind of a continuation of the preceding one, and dealing with the nature of the physical world.

(136) *al-Muḍî'a fî'l-amr wa'l-âmir wa'l-ma'mûr*, ref. to in the *Riyâḍ* and *Râḥat* (23, 365), on the Creator, the act of the creation, and the created.

(137) *al-Lâzima fî ṣawm shahr Ramaḍân*, on the esoteric meaning of the fasting during the month of Ramaḍân.

(138) *ar-Rawḍa fî'l-azal*, ref. to in the *Riyâḍ* and *Râḥat* (23, 60), and included in the *Azhâr*, vii.

(139) *az-Zâhira*, proving that a certain work is not by Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijzî, as it is believed to be. Divided into six "replies" and six *faṣls*.

(140) *al-Hâwiya fî'l-layl wa'n-nahâr*, comp. in 399/1009, and sent to the author's lieutenant in Jîruft, a district of the Kerman province, on *ta'wîl*.

(141) *Mabâsim al-bishârât*, on Imamât in general and on the Imamât of al-Hâkim *bi-amr Allâh* in particular, divided into 14 *faṣls*. An extract was edited by P. Kraus in "Der Islam", vol. XIX, p. 253.

(142) *al-Wâ'iẓ* or *ar-Risâlat al-Wâ'iẓa*, ref. to in the *Râḥat* (43, 124). Admonitions and answers to the questions put by an "extremist" al-Ḥasan al-Farghânî b. Ḥaydara. According to S. de Sacy's "Exposé de la Religion des Druzes", vol. I, p. cccxxxix, in an account based on statements of that notorious liar, an-Nuwayrî, this Farghânî preached divinity of al-Hâkim in 409/1018, was encouraged by the latter, but was soon killed by his adversaries, who looted his house. The *Risâla* was composed in Jum. ii 408/Nov. 1017, when apparently the heretic really possessed influence because the tone of the treatise is surprisingly



mild and soliciting. It was edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein in the "Bulletin of the Fuad al-Awwal University of Cairo", 1952, the 1-st quarter.

(143) *al-Kāfiya fī'r-Radd 'alā'l-Hārūnī al-Ḥasanī*, comp. in Cairo, and sent to the author's lieutenant, 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Māzinī, in Kirmān. It was an answer to the latter's inquiry concerning the controversial statements in the book (*Si-yāsat al-murtadīn?* cf. B-I, 186, BS-I, 318) written by the Zaydī Imam, Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad bi'l-lāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī al-Hārūnī (born 333/944, d. 411/1020). He refuted al-Ḥākim's claims to Imamāt, and quoted that obvious fake, *K. al-Balāgh al-Akbar*. Ḥamīd ad-dīn refutes all these, and adds a few *faṣls* criticising the principles of Zaydism in general. Quoted in *Azhār*, vii. Cf. also W. Ivanow, "The Rise of the Fatimids", Bombay, 1942, p. 142 sqq. It is interesting to note that in this treatise Ḥamīd ad-dīn refers to his earlier works, *al-Maṣābīḥ fī ithbāt al-Imāmat* (no. 125) and *Tanbīh al-hādī wa'l-mustahdī*, the latter, according to *Rāḥat*, 20, composed in 411/1021.

The collection also contains a short treatise by an anonymous author (*ba'd al-ḥudūd*) of al-Ḥākim's time:

(144) *Khazā'in al-adilla*, or *Kitāb al-khazā'in*, on theosophic matters.

The works which are lost, as stated in 'Uyūn, vi: "not available to us in the Yaman":

(145) *Risālat al-Fihrist*, mentioned in the *Rāḥat*, 23, 25, 192.

(145A) *R. al-Ma'ād* or, probably *at-Tawḥīd fī'l-Ma'ād*, ref. to in *Riyāḍ*. F. – not seen. Or is it the same as *R. al-Wahīda fī'l-Ma'ād?* (ref. to in the *Riyāḍ*).

(146) *al-Maqādir wa'l-Ḥadā'iq* (or is it two works, *al-Maqādir* and *al-Ḥadā'iq?*).

(147) *Tāj al-'uqūl*, ref. to in *Rāḥat*, 313, 319, 421, 436.

(148) *Maydān al-'aql*, or should it be *Mīzān al-'aql*, as in *Rāḥat*, 364?

(148A) *'Ālim ad-dīn*, ref. to in *Rāḥat*, 313.

(149) *al-Layliyya*, ref. to in *Rāḥat*, 123.



(150) *an-Nafdh wa'l-ilzām* (is it the same as the *R. al-Lā-zīma* above? cf. no. 137).

(151) *Iklīl an-nafs* (or *fī'n-nafs*) *wa tāju-hā*, ref. to in *al-Aqwāl adh-Dhahabiyya* (no. 128).

(152) *K. al-Maqāyis* (*raddan 'alā'l-ghulāt*), ref. to in the *Rāḥat*, 354.

(153) *al-Majālis al-Baghdādiyya wa'l-Baṣriyya*, ref. to in *Riyāḍ*.

(154) *R. ash-Shi'rā*, a treatise on Sirius (star), ref. to in the *Mabāsīm al-bishārāt*, no. 141.

(155) *ar-R. al-Ta'wiliyya* (*fī'l-khawāṣṣ*), ref. to in the *Riyāḍ*.

(156) *K. al-Mufāwaz*.

(157) *R. al-Ma'ārij*.

It is quite possible that a study of the extant works by Ḥamīd ad-dīn will reveal more titles of his lost treatises, referred to in the text.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāma b. Ja'far b. 'Alī b. Ḥakīm al-Quḍā'i, d. in Dh. Q. 454/Nov. 1062, cf. B-I, 343 and BS-I, 584-5. He was a Shāfi'ite *qāḍī* under az-Zāhir and al-Mustansir. Two of his works (mentioned in B-I) were accepted as useful by the Ismailis and are still in use in the community:

(158) *K. ash-Shihāb an-Nabawī*, or *Shihāb al-akhbār fī'l-ḥikam*, several times lithographed in India, a well-known work on tradition. Cf. B-I, 343, 361.

(159) *Dustūr ma'ālim al-ḥikam wa ma'thūr makārim ash-shi'am*, also on tradition, divided into nine *bābs*. Cf. BS-I, 585, 938 (75).

Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad fī'd-dīn Abū Naṣr Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn (or *Mūsā*) *b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad ash-Shīrāzī as-Salmānī*, who occupied the post of the *bāb* under al-Mustansir *bi'l-lāh*. He arrived in Cairo from Persia in the same year as did Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 439/1047, and died there in 470/1077. His earlier life is summed up in his autobiography, *Sīrat Sayyidi-nā al-Mu'ayyad*



fi'd-dîn which preserves many interesting details of the history of the Saljuq invasion and subjugation of the Buyid state. He was a Persian landlord of Shîrâz and Ahwâz in Khûzistân, a highly educated theologian, an influential member of the Daylam, i. e. Persian Shi'ite party at the court of the Buyid ruler of Fars 'Imâd ad-dîn Abû Kalîjar Marzbân (415-440/1024-1048). When ousted by the advancing Saljuqs and the "fifth columnists", the Atrâk, their supporters, he fled to Baghdad and thence to Cairo where was received with great honours.

(160) *Majâlis*, or, as they are commonly called, *Mi'ât*, "hundreds", because of being arranged in eight volumes containing 100 each. They are still much admired, both as regards contents and literary style, but it is very difficult to get a complete set of eight volumes in a private collection. The compendium includes many of his minor works. The text of those *majlises* which contain a refutation of *K. az-Zumurrudh* by ar-Râwandî (BS-I, 341) was edited by Dr. P. Kraus in the "Revista degli Studi Orientali", XIV, 93-129, 331-379. The contents of the *Majâlis* was systematically re-arranged under 18 *bâbs* according to the subjects dealt with, by Hâtim b. Ibrâhîm, the third Yamanite *dâ'i*, under the title *Jâmi' al-haqâ'iq* (no. 214), discussed further on. Extracts in the third vol. of *Azhâr*, of the *Munâẓarât* between the author and Abû'l-'Alâ al-Ma'arrî.

(161) *Dîvân* of poems in praise of the Fatimids. At the end several poems supposed to be by the Imams az-Zâhir, al-Ĥâkim and al-Mustanşir are given. Edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein, Cairo, 1949.

(162) *Sîrat al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-dîn*, mentioned above, also called *as-Sîrat al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein, Cairo, 1949. It is brought up to the period of the activities of al-Basâsîrî (d. 451/1060).

(163) *al-Majâlis al-Mustanşiriyya*, summing up the discussions held at several preaching audiences of the Imam. A work under the same title, containing 35 *majlises*, which was edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein, Cairo, 1947, as the learned editor tries to prove in his introduction, is by another author, not al-Mu'ayyad *fi'd-dîn*. He is a certain anonymous *dâ'i* who is called "*Thiqqat*"



al-Imâm 'Âlim al-Islâm". Surely, al-Mu'ayyad, as he appears to us in the Fatimid tradition, would not be disqualified for such honorary "pen-name" by his admirers. I have seen several copies of this book, and could never get any decisive information from inquiries amongst the learned Bohoras whom I met.

(164) *Sharḥ al-Ma'âd*, on resurrection in flesh.

(165) *Ta'wîl al-arwâḥ*.

(166) *al-Iskandariyya*, a *qaṣida*, also called *Dhât ad-dawḥat*.

(167) *Nahj al-'ibâdat* (?) Or is it *Nahj al-Hidâyat li'l-Muḥtadin*?

(167A) *al-Îdâḥ wa't-tabṣîr fî faḍl yawm al-Ghadîr*, which sometimes is regarded the same as the work by 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, under the title of *al-Îdâḥ wa't-taṣṣîr fî ma'nâ yawm Ghadîr*, cf. no. 249.

(168) *al-Ibtidâ' wa'l-Intihâ'*, an apparently popular treatise on eschatology, dealing with *ibdâ'*, *aql*, *naḥs*, *al-Qâ'im* (i. e. *Mahdî*) and all that is connected with the belief about him, potential and actual angels (*al-malâ'ika bi'l-quwwat wa bi'l-fi'l*), and the return of the soul into the abode from which it came (*rujû' an-naḥs ilâ mâ min-hu bada'at*).

(169) The only known *Persian* work by al-Mu'ayyad, supposed to be preserved till now, is his translation of Qâḍî Nu'mân's *Asâs at-Ta'wîl* which, by tradition, he prepared for his patron, the Buyid prince Abû Kalînjar Marzbân, mentioned above. Cf. under *Qâḍî Nu'mân*, no. 75. As has been mentioned above, the only copy, from Hyderabad, which I saw, was a disappointment. Its language could not be that of the XI c. A.D. It was modern *Indian Persian*, of about a hundred years or so. I could never ascertain the source of the information about that translation, and it would not be impossible that it arose fairly late in India, and has no historical foundation.

Anonymous author of al-Mustanṣîr's time.

(170) *al-Mas'ala wa'l-jawâb*, sometimes attributed to Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî, and sometimes to 'Alî b. Muḥammad



aṣ-Ṣulayhî. It would be interesting to find out whether it has anything to do with *al-Masâ'il as-Sab'ûn li'l-Mu'ayyad ash-Shîrâzî* (in a private collection). Apparently only the second *juz'* is preserved. I saw only its beginning. The first *mas'ala* is 'an *mawjûd fî fawâti-hi wa ḥayy fî mamâti-hi*, etc. The opusculum is bound with another work, defective at the beginning and the end, written in the same handwriting, which does not seem to be the remnants of the first *juz'*. In fact, it looks like an extract from the encyclopaedia of *Ikhwân aṣ-ṣafâ*, and uses, as that work, the formula of address: *yâ âkhî ayyada-ka Allâh wa iyya-nâ bi-rûḥ min-hu*. It often uses the expression *al-'ibâdat al-filsufiyya*, etc. The first question is about *Âdam al-Kullî wa zawjatu-hu wa Iblîs*, etc. The second is on *Âdam al-Juz'î*, etc. The work is referred to in the *Kanz al-Walad* by Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥâmidî (d. 557/1162): *Kitâb al-Mas'ala wa'l-Jawâb yujânîs bi-hi kalâm Sayyidi-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn musâ'idan muḥaqqiqan bi-anna'n-nafs . . .* etc. This may be a proof that the work is not by Ḥamîd ad-dîn.

al-Mukarram b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayhî, d. ca. 477/1084.
(171) *Ḥadâth al-arwâḥ* (?) F. not seen.

Shahriyâr b. al-Ḥasan, a *dâ'i* in Fârs and Kirmân, under al-Mustansîr *bi'l-lâh*. One of his works, *R. fî ma'nâ qawl Allâh*, etc. is a reply to *as-sultân al-ajall as-sayyid Abû'l-Mundhir 'Âmir b. Sulaymân b. 'Abdî'l-lâh b. Ayyûb az-Zawwâjî*, one of the tribal chiefs in the Yaman, d. 492/1099 (according to 'Uyûn vii).

(172) *ar-R. fî Ma'nâ qawl Allâh "in-nâ fataḥnâ la-ka falḥan mubîn"*, in reply to a question put by the above-mentioned 'Âmir, and giving a *ta'wîl* of the verse.

(173) *ar-R. fî Radd man yunkir al-'âlam ar-rûḥânî*, usually included in the set of the "13 *risâlas*" of Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî (no. 132).

(174) *Qaṣida*, quoted by Sulaymân b. al-Ḥasan.



Badr al-Jamālī, an Armenian slave, later on a high official and the chief *dā'i* under al-Mustaṣṣir *bi'l-lāh* (since 466/1073), d. 488/1095.

(175) *al-Majālīs al-Mustaṣṣiriyya*, different from the work with the same title mentioned above under the name of al-Mu'ayyad *fī d-dīn* (no. 163). Unfortunately, no details are given in F.

al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, a poet of al-Mustaṣṣir's time.

(176) *Diwān* of poetry in praise of the Fatimids.

al-Mustaṣṣir bi'l-lāh, Abū Tamīm Ma'add, the eighth Fatimid Imam (427-487/1036-1094).

(176A) *as-Sijillāt al-Mustaṣṣiriyya*, a collection of his epistles, ed. Cairo, 1954, by A. M. Magued ('Abd al-Mun'im Mājid). Not mentioned in F.

Yahyā b. Mālik, d. 28 Jum. ii 520/21-7-1126.

(177) *Faṣl fī bayān al-arḍ wa mā 'alay-hā min ma'dīn*, etc.

al-Āmir bi-aḥkām Allāh, Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr b. Aḥmad the tenth Fatimid caliph (495-524/1101-1131). Musta'lian sources for some reason, which is never explained, regard the date of his death as two years later, 526/1133.

(178) *al-Āmiriyya*, or *al-Hidāyat al-Āmiriyya*, or, in full, *al-Hidāyat al-Āmiriyya li-Mawlā-nā al-Āmir fī ithbāt Imāmat Mawlā-nā al-Musta'li wa'r-radd 'alā'n-Nizāriyya*, a short treatise trying, by various sophisms, to prove the rights of al-Musta'li to Imamāt. At the end there is added a section, under the title:

(179) *Iqā' ṣawā'iq al-irghām*, containing some epistles in reply to the inquiries by the *dā'is* in Syria, who regarded the succession of al-Musta'li as usurpation. Edited by A.A.A. Fozze, Bombay, 1938 (Islamic Research Association's series, no. 7).





(180) *Iklila*, quoted in the *Maḡāṭih al-kunûz* (no. 220). Is this not yet another title for the *Âmiriyya*?

Muḡammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Yazīd, flourished during al-Âmir’s time.

(181) *K. al-Maṭbakh (fi’l-mabda’ wa’l-ma‘âd)*, included in *MT* and *Azhâr* iii.

(182) *Ḍiyâ’ al-‘uqûl*, a well-known work on *ḥaqâ’iq*.

(183) *Ash‘âr fî ma‘rifat an-nafs*.

Abû’l-Barakât b. Bishr al-Ḥalabî, flourished during al-Âmir’s time.

(184) *al-Majâlis*, sixty lectures on questions of religion and ethics.

(185) *Ma‘rifat al-wuṣûl ilâ ma‘rifat al-ma‘nâ*, by an anonymous author of al-Âmir’s time (*ba‘ḍ al-ḥudûd al-balaghâ*). A short treatise on theosophy, divided into several *maqâms*, *bâbs* and *faṣls*. In the copy which I saw space for the headings of chapters was left blank. Poetical quotations by ‘Alī b. Muḡammad al-Kûfî, and others.

(186) *Iḥyâ’ marâsim ad-dîn*, by an anonymous author of the beginning of the sixth/twelfth c. It is devoted to the rights of the problematic son of al-Âmir, aṭ-Ṭayyib, to Imamât, and rejection of the pretences of al-Ḥâfiẓ (524-544/1130-1149) who is treated as a usurper. It touches upon many difficult points of the doctrine of the “temporary imams” and the real Imams, and the periods of their occultation: *fî-hâ fawâ’id wa asrâr fî bâb al-istidâ’ wa’l-istiqrâr wa dhikr al-istitâr*.



III. THE LITERATURE OF THE NEO – YAMANITE PERIOD

al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan (or *al-Ḥusayn*) *b. Abī'l-Ḥuffāz al-Ham-dānī*, a *dā'i* in the Yaman, d. in Ṣafar 533/Oct. 1138. The *Nuzhat al-afkār*, vol. I, by Idrīs 'Imād ad-dīn, devotes much space to his pedigree, hostilities against his brother, praises his ascetic habits, and quotes lengthy poems. But nothing is said about his literary activity. The same applies to the *Muntaẓa' al-akhbār*, vol. II.

(188) *Kitāb an-nafs*, divided into three *qisms*: 1. *bayān ma'rifat an-nafs*; 2. *faṣl i: zuḥūr an-nafs bi'l-mawḍū'*, and *faṣl ii: ḥal hiya'l-mawḍū' aw ghayru-hu'*. There are also several *faṣls* without headings; 3. *fī'l-qawl 'alā wujūd an-nafs li-kamāl ath-thānī*, etc., also divided into *faṣls* without headings. The chief source of the author is the *Rāḥat al-'aql* by Ḥamīd ad-dīn al-Kirmānī. He also often refers to his own treatise *Munīrat al-baṣā'ir*, just below.

(189) *Munīrat al-baṣā'ir*, divided into ten *bābs*: 1. *tawḥīd*; 2. *Imāmat wa man al-mustahāqq la-hā wa mushār ilay-hi bi-hā*; 3. *Nāṭiq*; 4. *Asāsīyyat wa waṣāyat*; 5. *naql wa ma'ād*; 6. *istiḥāla*; 7. *thawāb wa 'iqāb*; 8. *'adl*; 9. *hubūṭ ilā dār al-'amal*; 10. *ṣu'ūd wa'rīqā'*.

(190) *ar-R. fī bayān i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, included in MT ii.

(191) *al-Mimīyya*, a *qaṣīda* in praise of 'Alī.

(192) *an-Na'im*, a treatise on *ta'yīd*, *naḥs*, *ṭabī'at*, etc. Only a part of it is preserved.

(193) *Burhān al-anwār fī i'jāz sūrat al-Kawthar*, included in the MT ii. Cf. no. 205 (31).

(194) *Dīwān* of poetry containing 25 poems on *tawḥīd*.

(195) *Ghāyat al-mawālīd*, not mentioned in F. A highly suspicious work, cf. my "Rise of the Fatimids", 1942, pp. 20-23, extract, texts, 35-39. It is divided into five *bābs*: 1. *fī'l-qawl fī ithbāt al-ḥujaj fī'l-jazā'ir al-ithnā 'ashar*. *Bāb II. fī qawl 'alā an-nāsūt al-muttaḥid bi-hi al-lāhūt*. *Bāb III. fī'l-qawl 'alā ḥādhihi al-ḥādithat wa ithbāt aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ min-hā*. *Bāb IV. fī'l-qawl 'alā ithbāt al-imāmat li'l-*



imâm at-Tayyib Abi'l-Qâsim. Bâb V. fî'l-qawl 'alâ al-la'ât'if wa ghâ-yâti-hâ wa'l-hujub al-khamsat wa zuhûri-hâ bi-hudûdi-hâ wa zuhûr al-maqâm bi-jamî'i-hâ wa tajallî al-ghayb bi-hâ.

The central point in these speculations is the question whether a woman can be a *hujjat*, with reference to the theories that Ḥurraṭ al-Malika, a widow of a Ṣulayḥid tribal headman, can be recognized as a *hujjat* of al-Âmir.

Dhuwayb (or *Dhu'ayb*) b. *Mûsâ al-Wâdi'i*, the first Yamanite *dâ'i*, was appointed (*Muntaza' ii*) 12 Sha'bân 532/25-iv-1138, d. 10 Muharram 546/29-iv-1151. There was apparently nothing extraordinary in his activities. (Both the *Nuzhat i* and *Muntaza' ii*, say nothing about his books).

(196) *Risâlat an-naḥs*, an opuscle of the usual *ḥaqâ'iq* type (also, according to F., containing some *fawâ'id*, *lâ yumkin kitâbatu-hâ*). It is not divided into *bâbs*, but each section is introduced mostly by *wa'lam*, sometimes *faṣl*, or *fa-naqûl*.

(197) *ad-Daraj fî ma'rifat al-mawjûdât*, a short treatise on theosophy, included in MT i, no. 205 (17).

Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥâmidî, the second Yamanite *dâ'i*, d. in Ṣan'â on the 16th or 7th Sha'bân 557/31(22)-7-1162. *Nuzhat i* devotes a few lines to him, *Muntaza' ii* copies it, both vaguely mention his "books", but no titles are given.

(198) *Kanz al-walad* (as it is commonly called), or *Khazînat al-'ulûm wa'l-fawâ'id*, one of the most secret esoteric works, *kutub al-kibâr*. F.-not seen. Divided into fourteen *bâbs*; 1. *fî'l-qawl 'alâ t-tawḥîd min ghayr tashbih wa lâ ta'tîl*; 2. *fî'l-qawl 'alâ l-ibdâ' al-ladhî huwa'l-mubdi' al-awwal*; 3. *fî'l-qawl 'alâ l-munba'athayn 'anî'l-mubdi' al-awwal*; 4. *fî'l-qawl 'alâ l-munba'ath al-awwal al-qâ'im bi'l-fi'l wa mâ dhalik al-fi'l*; 5. *fî'l-qawl 'alâ l-munba'ath ath-thânî al-qâ'im bi'l-quwwat wa mâ sabab dhalik*; 6. *fî'l-qawl 'alâ l-hayûlâ wa's-sûrat wa mâ humâ fî dhâtî-himâ wa mâ sabab takaththufî-himâ wa'mlizcîjî-himâ*; 7. *fî'l-qawl 'alâ zuhûr al-mawâlid ath-thalatha al-ma'dîn wa'n-nabât wa'l-*



hayawân; 8. fî'l-qawl 'alâ zuhûr ash-shakhṣ al-basharî awwalan wa fî kull zuhûr ba'd wafâ' al-kawr; 9. fî'l-qawl 'alâ zuhûr ash-shakhṣ al-fâdil min taht khatṭ al-îtidâl; 10. fî'l-qawl 'alâ'l-irtiqâ' wa's-su'ûd ilâ dâr al-ma'âd in shâ' Allâh Ta'âlâ; 11. fî'l-qawl 'alâ ma'rifat al-ḥudûd al-'ulwiyya wa's-sufliyya; 12. fî'l-qawl 'alâ'l-irtiqâ' fî'd-darjat ilâ'l-Jannat ad-dâniya wa'l-'âliya; 13. fî'l-qawl 'alâ'ttiṣâl al-mustafid bi'l-mufid wa'rtiqâ'i-hi ilay-hi wa'ttiṣâli-hi bi-hi; 14. fî'l-qawl 'alâ'l-'adhâb bi-ḥaqîqati-hi wa kayfiyyati-hi.

The work chiefly consists of quotations from al-Mu'ayyad fî'd-dîn, Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî, usually referred to as "*al-Ḥakîm*", Qâdî Nu'mân, "*ash-Shaykh al-ḥamîd as-Sijistânî*", i. e. Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijzî, his *Ithbât an-Nubuwwat* (no. 33), (an interesting term is used: *ma'rifat daymûmiyya*), occasionally Ja'far b. Manṣûr al-Yaman, as-Sayyid al-Mâlik al-Khaṭṭâb b. al-Ḥusayn, *naḍḍar Allâh wajha-hu, fî Munîrat al-baṣâ'ir* (no. 189); once a certain Ibn Ṣamdûn is referred to (*qâl . . . fî risâlati-hi al-latî aḍâfa-hâ ilâ Manṣûr al-Yaman*). Apparently for the earliest occasion in the Ismaili literature the author often quotes *al-Jâmi'a*, i. e. the Encyclopaedia of *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ*, introducing quotations by *qâl ash-Shakhṣ al-Fâdil ṣâhib ar-Rasâ'il, naḍḍar Allâh wajha-hu* (which implies the indication that the author of the *Kanz* did not know the name of the author of the Encyclopaedia, and did not regard him as an Imam as has been hinted above, see p. 19).

(199) *al-Iblidâ' wa'l-Intihâ'* an opusculum, composed of one large and several shorter sections each beginning with a *Basmala*.

(200) *ash-Sharîfa fî ma'ânî'l-laṭîfa*, which is sometimes wrongly attributed to Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid, the 11th Yamanite *dâ'i*. The booklet was apparently composed before 546/1151, because the first *dâ'i*, Dhu'ayb b. Mûsâ al-Wâdî'i, who died in that year, is referred to as still alive (*adâm Allâh 'umra-hu*, etc.), and refers to the stunning effect of the events connected with the death of al-Âmir and what followed it. The author plainly says that his work was based on the works of *Sayyid-nâ* Dhu'ayb. The book deals with the usual theosophic subjects, such as *ibdâ'*, *'aql*, *nafs*, etc., but for the most part concentrates on astrological speculations concerning the influence of different planets on physical and psy-



chical faculties of man, etc. It is divided into many unnumbered *faṣls*, of different length. Works of al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-dīn are referred to.

(201) *Tis'a wa tis'ūn mas'ala fī'l-ḥaqā'iq*, sometimes attributed to the namesake of the author, the same Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walid. The work deals with *ḥaqā'iq* in the usual Yamanite style.

ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (b. Aḥmad) b. al-Walid, the cousin of the fifth *dāʿī*, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (b. Aḥmad) b. al-Walid who died in 612/1216.

(202) *R. al-Basmala*, included in MT ii, cf. no. 205 (27).

(203) *ar-R. fī'l-baḥth ʿalā'l-firqa an-Nizāriyya*, included in MT ii, quite worthless from the standpoint of history as giving no facts, and containing nothing beyond vague theorising.

(204) *Tuhfat at-ṭālib wa umniyyat al-bāḥith ar-rāghib*, on *mabda' wa'l-ma'ād*, included in MT i, and is sometimes regarded as the work of the 9th *dāʿī* ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid who died in 682/1284. It is not certain whether it is also called *Risālat ad-Ḍalʿ*. Cf. no. 205 (24).

Sayyid-nā Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥārithī, d. 7 Shaww. 584/29-xi-1188. Practically no details of his biography are given in the *Nuzhat* and *Muntazāʿ*.

(205) *Majmūʿ at-tarbiyat*, in two vols., the classic chrestomathy of Ismaili literature which served as a model to later works of this type. In his introduction the author says that he has given his book the title *Kitāb al-Jawāhir*, and that it was intended as an introduction (*madkhal*) to what is desirable to be read from the *daʿwat* books, collecting in it the cream of "Arab letters and wonderful ideas". The contents of the *first vol.*:

1. *Taʿwīl aṣ-ṣalāt ṣāḥiran wa bāṭinan ʿalā jumlati-hā*. The source is not mentioned, probably by the compiler himself.



2. *Dhikr ta'wil aṣ-ṣalāt min Kitāb al-Mas'ala wa'l-Jawāb* (the latter by an anonymous author of al-Mustanṣir's time, see above, no. 170).

3. *Ta'wil aṣ-ṣalāt min Kitāb ash-Shawāhid wa'l-bayān*, by Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (see above, no. 16), with an addition by the compiler.

4. *Ta'wil Basmala*, in three short *bābs*.

5. *Ta'wil ash-shahādat wa muqābalātu-hā li'l-ʿālam*, perhaps by the compiler himself?

6. *Takallum fī'l-jawhar wa'l-ʿarāḍ*, condensed from the *Risālat Tarkīb al-jasad*.

7. *Risālat al-jawharayn* (or *al-jawāhir*), li-Sayyid-nā Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, in two *maqālas*, each subdivided into 8 *bābs*.

8. *Min ar-Risālat ar-rābi'a min Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*.

9. *Kalām fī'l-tarbiyat*, by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir himself, in 12 *fāṣls*.

10. *Risālat Shahriyār b. al-Ḥusayn*, apparently the same as *Risālat fī Radd man yunkir al-ʿālam ar-rūḥānī*, see above, no. 173.

11. *R. mutaḍammīna as-Sijill al-wārid bi'l-bishārat li-Mawlā-nā*, by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir himself, about the meaning of the terms "muslim" and "mu'min". The letter is from al-Āmir informing Sayyidat ar-Raziyya al-Ḥurraṭ al-Malika about the birth of a child, in 524/1130. The *Hidāyat al-Āmiriyya* is referred to, also *K. al-Fatarāt wa'l-Qirānāt* (no. 18), and *Sīrat Ibn Ḥawshab* by Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (no. 23, doubtful).

13. *Ma'rifat al-Jism wa'n-Nafs wa'l-farq bayna-humā*, on the difference between the physical and psychical self, by an anonymous author.

14. *Ma'rifat an-Nufūs al-arba'*, by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Yazīd, of al-Āmir's time.

15. *Risālat ʿAmlāq al-Yūnānī*, on theosophical matters.

16. *Kalām fī'l-hujjat*, about the *naṣṣ* of Imams.

17. *R. ad-Daraj*, by adh-Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā, comments on a point from the *Rāḥat al-ʿAql*, about the relative position of things in existence. Cf. no. 197.

18. *Risālat al-Mabāḥith at-tis'a*, on logical categories, in application to anthroposophy. The name of the author does not appear.



19. *Mulḥiqat al-adhnân wa munabbihat al-wasnân*, by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, cf. further on no. 233. It deals with *ḥaqā’iq*, *tawḥīd*, etc.

20. *Faḍā’il Rabbānī al-umma wa mu’jizātu-hā khabar an-nūq*, stories of miracles of the Prophet related from Miqdād b. al-Aswad, and others.

21. *al-Mabādī al-‘aqliyya*, from the Encyclopaedia of *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*.

22. *Risālat al-ḥudūd wa’r-rusūm*, also from the same source.

23. *al-Qawl ‘alā kam (?) al-‘ibād*, on *ta’wīl*.

24. *Tuhfat aṭ-Ṭālib wa umniyyat al-bāḥith ar-rāghib*, by ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd, see above, no. 204. *Kitāb az-Zīna* by Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī is quoted (a rare thing), also works of Ja‘far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. An extraordinary feature: *jā’ ‘anī’l-Imām Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh*, obviously a quotation from the *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*. The story of Imam al-‘Azīz, 12 *bābs* of the twelve *jaẓā’ir* and a Sindī, who wanted to deify the Imam.

It is sometimes wrongly ascribed to ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Mḥd b. al-Walīd, the 9th *dā’i*.

25. *Tarbiyat mufīda jāmi‘a*, useful information on varied (religious) subjects, on *furūd*, *ṭahārat*, *ṣalāt*, and so forth, then on theosophical matters, sometimes with the use of cipher. Abū Ḥātim (ar-Rāzī), Qāḍī Nu‘mān, and others are referred to.

The contents of the second volume:

26. *Majlis (min majālis) Sayyid-nā al-Mu‘ayyad fī’l-dīn*. A sermon of a general instructive character, appealing to seek ‘ilm and practice piety and devotion to God.

27. *Risālat al-Basmala fī ma‘rifat al-tis‘a ‘ashar al-mufaṣṣala*, by ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (beg. vii/xiii c.), cf. no. 202. It explains the mystical implications of the letters in the words *b’ism Allāh*, chiefly following the writings of Jā‘far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. *Sarā’ir al-ma‘ād wa’l-ma‘āsh*, see no. 50 (by Abū Ya‘qūb Sijzī) is also referred to in the beginning. The “proofs” are based on the fantastical speculation over the numerical values of letters composing the formula and their reference to the seven Great



Apostles (*nuḥaḍā*) and so forth. The legend of al-Mu'izz' explanations to "the twelve *bābs* in charge of the twelve *jazīras*", who prostrated before him except one who was from Sind (cf. *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib* above, in the first volume no.24).

28. Follow several instructive anecdotes, perhaps having nothing to do with the *R. Basmala*, which is apparently complete.

29. Story about Aflâṭūn. The legend, narrated in the *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib*, again about the "twelve *bābs* from twelve *jazīras*" prostrating before al-'Azīz, except one from Sind; story of the son of Luqmān; *Khabar Tamīm*; *Riwayāt Jīda 'an Ahl al-Bayt*; story about 'Alī and a Syrian, with a reference to the *K. al-Ghurar wa'd-Durar*, by Sayyid Murtaḍā; *R. al-Farq bayn al-Malā'ikat bi'l-quwwa wa'l-malā'ikat bi'l-fi'l* (cf. above, no. 168)

30. *Mahajjat al-Irshād wa'l-mūḍīḥat li-sabīl an-najāt, min 'ālam al-kawn wa'l-fasād*, by an anonymous author of the sixth/twelfth c. It is divided into four *bābs*: 1. *walāyat al-A'imma*; 2. *fī'l-ḥaḍḍ 'alā'l-a'māl ash-shar'iyyā*; 3. *fī'l-ḥaḍḍ 'alā ṭalab al-'ilm*; 4. *fī-mā yalzīm al-mu'minīn ba'da-hum li-ba'dīn*. The *bābs* are subdivided into *faṣls*. References to the *Da'ā'im* of Q. Nu'mān, his *al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt*, Imams al-Manṣūr, al-Mu'izz, ancient Imams, *K. al-Himma*, al-Mu'ayyad *fī'd-dīn's Majālis*, Ḥamīd ad-dīn's *Tanbīh al-hādī wa'l-mustahdī*, the *Rāḥat al-'Aql*, the *waṣīyyat* of Imam al-Ḥākim given by him to Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kirmānī (i. e. Hamīd ad-dīn) when he was sent to his post in 'Irāq.

31. *R. 'anā bi-hā as-sultān al-ajall as-sayyid al-Khaṭṭāb b. Ḥasan*, an answer to *R. Burhān ul-anwār fī i'jāz sūrat al-Kawthar* (cf. no.193). It is perhaps the same work as mentioned in F. under the title of *ar-R. fī bayān i'jāz al-Qur'ān*. It is divided into unnumbered *faṣls*. Unfortunately, the name of the author of the book which is criticised does not appear here.

32. *Kitāb Abī'l-Fawāris ad-Dā'i bi'l jazīrat ash-Shām* (cf. no. 120). A compilation composed of answers of various *dā'īs* in Syria, at the time of al-Ḥākim *bi'l-lāh*, explaining various questions of the Ismaili faith. The compiler, *muṣannif*, calls himself the secretary (*kātib*) of the *dā'i* in Syria, Abū'l-Fawāris Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb. The questions are arranged in 16 *bābs*: 1. Various proofs of the necessity of the Imam after the Prophet; 2. whether it is not



enough to have the Coran, *shari'at*, *farā'id* and *sunna*; 3. why the Imam cannot be elected by the community, and not appointed by a *naṣṣ*? 4. What are the proofs of the validity (*ṣiḥḥat*) of the *naṣṣ*? 5. In what is the guaranty of justice in God's having chosen for Imamate Peter and not Paul? 6. What is the proof for our reason that 'Alī was the noblest man after the Prophet, and the most deserving of the caliphate of all the people? 7. From where can one see that 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was the bravest man in the nation, and yet he had not presented his claims, but swore allegiance (to the incumbent)? 8. Why is it not permissible that at one and the same time there would be two Imams or more owing to the great distances which separate different corners of the earth? 9. Why is it impossible that Imamate could be transferred from the descendants of 'Alī to others? 10. How would it be if this revelation (*al-āyāt*) would not have been from our Prophet, and of our times, but the ancient law? 11. Is it possible that your Imam dies without a heir? The author goes into the question of the genealogy of the Imams, and refers to the *ḥuṭba* of al-Ḥākim in Cairo in 386/996; 12. what if the Imam dies as still an embryo, or a born infant, – how can one follow him, or swear allegiance to him, while he is still a minor . . . not yet regarded by *shari'at* as responsible for his actions? 13. What proof can be brought of the legitimacy of Imamate, etc. 14. How can it be that an Imam should remain in concealment owing to fear (of persecution), or concealing his real religion (*taqiyya*), just like our concealed Imam (*aṭ-Ṭayyib*); 15. Why are the names of the Imams publicly revealed in mosques? 16. How would it be possible to know the real successor, if the Imam dies leaving several sons who all claim succession while the real Imam designate is afraid to present his claims?

The compiler apparently does not refer to any earlier works, is quite vague in his references to the *mukhālifin*. In the fourth *bāb* he refers to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, an early Sufi.

33. (*Arba'a fuṣūl fī'l-uṣūl*), a title-less treatise by an anonymous author who wrote it under al-Mustansir *bi'l-lāh* (428–487/1036–1094), divided into four *faṣls*: 1. *fī mā yalzam ahl al-īmān . . . min ta'zīm ḥurmat ad-dīn*; 2. *fī tafḍīl al-wilādat ad-dīniyya wa'l-ukhuwwat ar-rūḥāniyya 'alā'l-wilādat at-ṭabī'iyya wa'l-ukhuwwat al-jismiyya*; 3. *fī ḥuṭbat al-Imam*; 4. *fī ḥuṭbat al-Imam*. realpatidar.com



3. *fī takāfī ḥuqūq al-mu'minīn* . . . 'alā ikhtilāf ṭabaqāti-him; 4. *fī'l-ḥadd 'alā'l-tamassuk bi'l-'amal aṣ-ṣāliḥ* . . . The author refers to the works of al-Mu'ayyad *fī'd-dīn*.

34. *Masā'il al-mustajīb li'l-'abd aṣ-ṣāliḥ*, an elementary work on various questions of *ta'wīl*, eschatology, the *Qā'im* ('alā dhikri-hi's-salām), Imamat, 'ahd, *darajat al-muḥrimīn min al-bāṭin*, *al-jidd*, *al-fath*, *al-khayāl*, demonology, etc., all in very small doses.

35. *Risālat li'sh-shaykh* . . . 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd ilā Muḥammad ibn al-Hindī, obviously the same as the *R. fī'l-baḥth 'alā'l-firqat an-Nizāriyya*, mentioned above, no. 203. The author, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd, flourished in the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth c. The work is arguing against those (i. e. Nizaris) who believe that the *naṣṣ* (of the Musta'lian Imams) became extinct (with al-Āmir), and insists on the reality of aṭ-Ṭayyib. There is much of all kinds of irrelevant speculation and argument, but nothing as regards historical facts. The "proofs" mostly consist of cabbalistic calculations, in the Ḥurūfī style, and so forth. Ḥamīd ad-dīn Kirmānī's work, the *Mabāsīm al-bishārāt fī'r-radd 'alā'l-Farghānī* (no. 141) and al-Mu'ayyad's *K. al-Ibtidā wa'l-intihā* (no. 168) are referred to.

36. *Riwāyat al-aruzz wa mā fī-hi min al-faḍl*, on the value of rice, as related by al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar from Imam Ja'far.

37. *al-Lā'iḥa*, by an anonymous author, a treatise on theosophy, divided into 15 *faṣls*, each beginning with *fī ibānat ad-dalīl 'alā* . . . : 1. *jasad al-insān makhlūq* . . . *wa lays huwa bi-khāliq dhāti-hi*; 2. *jasad al-insān wa rūḥu-hu* . . . *maḥkūm aṭ-ṭabī'at* . . . ; 3. *aṭ-ṭabī'at majbūrat* . . . *lā ikhtiyār la-hā fī istiḥālātī-hā* . . . ; 4. *al-arkān al-arba'a wa't-ṭabī'at maḥkūmat* . . . ; 5. *al-aflāk wa'l-kawākib majbūrat maḥkūmat fī ḥarakāti-hā* . . . ; 6. *al-aflāk al-muḥarrikāt* . . . *yuhriku-hā muḥrik* . . . ; 7. *al-muḥrik an-nāqis* . . . *muḥtāj ilā tāmm ghanī sākin* . . . ; 8. *al-'aql al-kullī* . . . *ma'lūl* . . . ; 9. *jā'izat al-kalām fī'l-Mubdī'* . . . ; 10. *jamī'* . . . *min al-muṭaḥarrikāt wa's-sākināt ma'lūlāt* . . . ; 11. *al-Mubdī' lā yaḥtāj ilā ibdā'i-hi al-mubda'āt* . . . ; 12. *iḥāṭat 'ilm al-Bārī bi'l-mubda'* . . . ; 13. *imtinā' idmiḥlāl al-mubda'āt* . . . ; 14. *ḥājat an-naḥas wa'l-arwāḥ ilā ajrām wa'l-aṣṣām* . . . ; 15. *al-wuṣūl ilā ghadhā' ar-rūḥ wa lubb ad-dīn wa ta'wīl ash-sharā'i'* . . . *kamā wuṣūl al-jasad ilā ghadhā'i-hi* . . .



The author apparently flourished under al-Mu'izz li-din Allāh because he invokes blessings upon his ancestors and those who are coming after him.

38. *Risālat li'l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ad-Dā'i al-Mayhadhi* (?), an "open letter" written by the *dā'i* al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad with a *nisba* which cannot be properly reconstructed due to the errors of copyists, at the time *apparently* of al-'Aziz bi'l-lāh (365-386/975-996), to his persecutors, the people of Ray (now Teheran), cf. no. 114 above.

(206) *ar-Risālat al-Ḥātimiyya fī'r-radd 'alā ba'd al-māriqīn*, an "answer", or refutation of the statements in a treatise by an author whose name is not given. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir finds it badly misleading, and does not mince hard words about its malice. The treatise is divided into 13 *faṣls*, each forming a detailed refutation of the "*risāla*", the text of which is cited. The work depicts the utter confusion and anarchy which followed the extinction of the Musta'lian line, with many members of the *da'wat* organisation losing discipline. Works of Ḥamīd ad-dīn, al-Mu'ayyad, and some others, even the *Istīlāḥ ad-da'wa*, by Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, are abundantly quoted.

(207) *Ḥadā'iq al-albāb*, in 28 *mas'alas* relating to various religious and theosophic problems; it may be a kind of note-book into which information on different subjects was entered without any system: 1-4. matters connected with *tawḥīd*, creation, etc.; 5-8. *naḥs*; 9. on *Risālat* (Prophetship); 10. moralising on the subject of the *faqr al-'ulamā' wa dhillatu-hum*; 11. *al-Qā'im, hal jismu-hu maḥsūs am lā*; 12-16. *tawḥīd* with relation to ethics; 17. *al-'ibādātayn, al-'ilmiyya wa'l-'amaliyya*; 18-22. eschatology, and miscellanies, such as wine drinking, etc.; 23. whether the Imam controls the *ḥalāk*, or the *ḥalāk* governs the fate of the Imam; 24-26. *ṭahārat*; poetry; *ḥudūd*; 27. Jesus and Muḥammad, who was greater? 28. *ibdā'.*

(208) *ar-Risāla fī'l-ḥaqā'iq*, or *Arba' 'ashar mas'ala al-latī ajāb 'an-hā Sayyid-nā Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir*, in 14 *bābs*: 1. *al-a'māl ash-shar'iyya*; 2. *Jahannam, Barzakh*, etc. 3. *ikhtilāf 'ilal al-lughāt*; 4. *al-'ālam al-kabīr*; 5. *ikhtilāf i'tiqādāt*; 6. *hayūlā*; 7. *'ālam al-kabīr* (3).com



8. *mûsiqî*; 9. *insân huwa'l-‘alam al-kabîr*; 10. *al-qawm an-nafsâniyya*; 11. *Ādam, shajārat, Iblîs*; 12. *‘adad wa handasa*; 13. *masqaṭ an-nuṭfa*; *naṣṣ ash-shams*; 14. *aṭṭāk*.

(209) *al-Anwār al-latîfa*, not seen by F.

(210) *al-Mûdîḥat li'r-rashād*, in a private collection. Doubtful.

(211) *Luma' al-anwār*, on the superiority of the *dhurriyyat al-Ismâ'iliyya*.

‘Alî b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥārithî, the son of the preceding.

(212) *al-Bayân*, mentioned in the *Muntaza' ii*, under the fifth *dā'i*, ‘Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd.

Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abî'l-Mas'ûd b. Ya'qûb al-Ḥamîdî the third *dā'i* in the Yaman, d. 16 Muḥ. 596/7-xi-1199. The *Nuzhat i* gives a lengthy story of how his accession was opposed by different parties, but says nothing about his literary works. The same is with the *Muntaza' ii*. He was a prolific writer and author of voluminous compilations.

(213) *ash-Shumûs az-Ẓâhira*, a large work on theosophy, one of the most secret compendia of esoteric philosophy of Ismailism. It is of the type, so much beloved in the Yamanite Ismaili literature, of a collection of *mas'alas*, very loosely connected one with another. The author very rarely quotes earlier Ismaili works, sticking to the "highest authorities", such as the apocryphal sayings of ‘Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, or Imam Ja'far. The full title of the book is given in the *muqaddima* as *ash-Shumûs az-Ẓâhira wa'l-Anwâr al-Muḍî'at al-Bâhira, muḥṭawî mā fi-hi ‘alâ sharaf ad-dunyâ wa'l-âkhira*. It is entrusted to the reader as an *amânat*, "Each answer to each question is here, in truth, a shining sun", and so forth. It is awfully verbose, profusely invoking God and pouring pious sentences, – no wonder that in my copy it takes 905 pages. At the beginning something like an attempt at



systematic division is made: first comes a *faṣl*, then 12 numbered *mas'alas*, then a *mas'ala* without a number, and then, apparently without any system, the headings appear: *faṣl*, *mas'ala*, *qawlu-hu*, etc. The first *mas'ala* is about the *ahl dār al-quds*, i. e. *dār al-ibdā'*, the world of primal realities. The second: the words attributed to 'Alī: "*naḥnu ashkhāṣ azaliyyūn qabl al-qalam wa'n-nūn* ('*aql* and *naḥs*)". Another: '*aql*, *ḥudūd*, etc. Creator, *amr*, *kalima*, etc., the usual discussions of the world, nature, etc., with occasional references to the works of al-Mu'ayyad and Ḥamīd ad-dīn.

In the eleventh *mas'ala* the author comes to the discussion of Iblīs and generally demonological matters, even *Umm aṣ-ṣibyān*, who introduces herself to king Solomon as a female demon called Abrūm bint Daḥaq bint 'Aqīq bint Malyāṭ bint Shayṭān bint Alhām bint Lāhīm ibn Fā'us b. Iblīs (quite a matrilinear pedigree!) She delivers to Solomon a lengthy lecture on demonology as the cause of various ailments, etc. There were two Iblīs, one the Iblīs who rebelled against God, and the other who re-appears as the *ḍidd*, adversary, of every *Nāṭiq*. This, eleventh *mas'ala* would well deserve translation as a sample of Yamanite folklore of the end of the XII c. A. D.

The 12th *mas'ala* is about Deity, whether it was created, or not. Reference to Ḥamīd ad-dīn. All these are the mysteries which the human tongue cannot explain (*mā lā yatarajim 'an-hu lisān basharī*).

The new *mas'ala*, which bears no number, is about *Ādam al-kullī ar-rūḥānī wa 'an Iblīs ar-rūḥānī*, from where, how, and for what purpose were they created. The next question is about the "tree" in the *al-'ālam ar-rūḥānī* and *al-'ālam al-jismānī*. Why and how Muḥammad the Prophet was chosen for his mission.

Addenda to the first *mas'ala* about the words of 'Alī: *qawlu-hu 'alay-nā salāmu-hu: inna Allāh . . . ikhtaṣṣ li-naḥsi-hi ba'd Nabīyyi-hi min banī-hi wa ahl bayti-hi khāṣṣatan . . . wa ja'ala-hum ad-du'āt bi' l-ḥaqq ilay-hi . . .* In dealing with the doctrine of *Nubuwwat* and *Imamat* the author does not spare curses for the *ghulāt* (hyperbolists), *ḥulūlīs*, *māriqīn*, etc. The author goes through all Biblical precedents. A short *faṣl* sums up the section.

The next section, *mas'ala*, touches on the important problem of the relations between Deity and the Imam. Again the sup-

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posed words of 'Alī are taken as starting point, expressed in verses beginning with: *naḥnu fī l-lāhi lā ḥulūla wa likīn*, etc. Further on the author quotes some lines from the epistle of al-Mu'izz to the Qarmatian (*ṣijill ilā l-Qarmatī*). On the whole there is no startling revelation of anything that was so far unknown.

Another section, commenting on 'Alī's words, beginning with: *fā- 'inda-hu takāmīl al-amr wa ṣaḥḥ al- 'azm*, etc., explaining the usual theosophy of "high realities".

Another saying, continuation of the preceding: *thumm . . . abraḥ min maktūb al- 'ilm wa makhṣūn al-ḥukm*, etc. It deals at length with Imamāt and its theosophic aspects.

A new section (without a heading) begins with the announcement that the words of Mawlā-nā 'Alī are like the Coran, - containing parallel and contradictory expressions, one abrogating the other (*nāsikh wa mansūkh*), and explanation may be single, or manifold. Various subjects are touched upon: Fāṭima; the daughter of the Prophet, first caliphs, Salmān addressed as Salsal, Shī'ite devotees, etc.

New section: questions put to 'Alī by his sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, as related by Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī. Both sons ask 'Alī to show them Yājūj wa Mājūj (Gog and Magog), and travel on a cloud. They were of a higher standing than king Solomon, who could do such things—why should they not have done it? The matter is explained symbolically. Other miracles, which sink to the level of plain fairy tales.

Then come matters of eschatology: Hell, Paradise, discussion of moral behaviour, *nafs* of various kinds, etc.

New section: God, matters explained by 'Alī. Discussion on 'Aql and other "high realities". Psychology, Physics, etc.

Ta'yidāt qudsāniyya wa 'ulūm Rabbāniyya, as the wisdom of the Imams. The 'ilm with which the author is concerned is, certainly, religious and even mystical knowledge. Pages are filled with hollow platitudes on the subject. The 'ilm of Ādam, of Nūḥ, Moses, etc. The words attributed to 'Alī quoted: "I am given amongst the Arabs the name of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; my name in Paradise is as-Sayyid; amongst the supporters of the firmament - 'Alī; in the heaven - Taqī; on both earths (*arḍayn*) - Amīr al-mu'minīn; with the Prophet - his brother, amongst his associates - Murtaḍā, amongst the faithful (*mu'minīn*) - Imam, in the



community - Ḥaydara, in the Coran - Ahl al-Bayt, in the Torah - Asad (lion), in the Injil - Sakhî, in Zubûr - Zakî, amongst the kâfirs - Abû Turâb, amongst the kahana - Shujâ', amongst the Turks - Ma' man (?), amongst the Daylamites (*ad-Daylam*) - Jabr, amongst the Greeks (*Rûm*) - Ista'îûs (?), at the Resurrection - *Sâqî*, this is how they call me in every language". In another saying: "I am the great Tiding" (*an-Naba' al-‘Azîm*). Pages of other similar epithets of ‘Alî are given from the sermons attributed to him. These are related by Yûnus b. Ṭaybân, Kuthayr b. Dâ’ûd, and others.

Now comes the question of those who derive their ‘ilm from the Imam, namely *bâb*, *hujjat*, *dâ’î*, *ma’dhûn*, etc. Again the question of Imamât. The famous sentence "‘Alî is the *mawlâ* of those whose *mawlâ* I am".

Imam Ja‘far is asked about the *Ghulât* and the *Nuṣayriyya*. A very rare tradition is quoted in which Imam Ismâ‘îl b. Ja‘far addresses al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar: "thou art our light in darkness and our lamp lit from the good olive tree" (with reference to the verse of the Coran connected with that expression). Follow many short traditions related from Imam Ja‘far and ‘Alî.

Further on in the explanations of some other utterances of ‘Alî the author touches upon the matter which is the subject of the *Kitâb ar-Rushd wa’l-Hidâya* (cf. above no. 11).

The same terms are used: 12 *naqîbs* of the Prophet, four heptads (*asâbi‘*), the seventh of the first being Muḥammad b. Ismâ‘îl b. Ja‘far, of the second, al-Mu‘izz, the third - aṭ-Ṭayyib (who is, of course, not mentioned in the *K. ar-Rushd*), the fourth - "the seventh of the *abdâl*". The same metaphor of the *fawâkih* (fruits) is used.

Further, follow the matters which appear exactly the same as the *Risâlat al-aruzz* which is included in MT ii, see no. 205 (36).

The implications of the myth of Adam, the *nûr* which continues in the prophetic strain of his progeny. Follows a lengthy discussion of cosmogonical theosophy.

The question of *Barzakh*, *Asmâ’ al-ḥudûd al-jismâniyya*. The hierarchy, quite an elementary discussion. It is interesting that here again the author takes out from antiquity the term *lâhîq* for *bâb* or *hujjat*, gives the old term *jinh* the meaning of the



ma'dhūn. He explains the term *mustajīb* by *man istajīb ilā'l-ḥaqq*.

The purpose of the use of "alluding" expressions for the ranks in hierarchy and of the concealment of the *madhhab al-ḥaqq*. Follow nearly 100 pages of theosophical discussion, with Adam and many other subjects mixed in a chaotic way.

Comments on the words of Imam Ja'far: *naḥu raḥmat Allāh*, etc. It implies that every Imam steps at the beginning of his Imamāt into the place of his forefather, the Prophet, in accordance with the verse of the Coran (XXI,10): "verily, We sent thee out of mercy (*raḥmatan*) to the world". The author discusses the ideas of the *ḥijābs* of different kinds: *nāsūtī*, *rūḥānī*, *al-maqām al-lāhūtī*, *al-mawḍi' ar-Rabbānī*, *shakhṣ-nūrānī*, etc. The *ḥadīth* "I and 'Alī, we were both of us a single light", is quoted. "*Abnā' Fāṭim Fāṭir*". This particular section may be the most important in the book as it entirely repeats the dogmas of the Nizārī *Qiyāmat al-Qiyāmāt* in Alamūt which the Musta'lians officially refute. Preaching such ideas, the author, nevertheless, pours curses upon the Ghulāt and the Nuṣayrīs.

Theosophy again. The author refers to a book, *Kitāb al-Ighmāḍ*, of theosophic contents. Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman is also referred to, also Ḥamīd ad-dīn. There are interesting references to Salmān in which 'Alī says: *ashhad anna Salsal al-bāb al-lāḥiq wa shabḥ an-nāṭiq . . . shabḥ al-ḥikmat an-nāṭiq . . .* Further: *Salmān 'alay-hi's-salām bāb al-Waṣl . . .* It is a pity that the author in his interesting discussions gives no references to his sources, so that it is not easy to see what is his own position in these matters. Follows a commentary on a theosophical poem. Discussion of *al-'Ashir*, *'Ālam al-ashbāḥ*, etc.

From the *munājāt* of al-Mu'ayyad with theosophical comments, references to Biblical mythollgy, Adam, Noah, etc.

Commentary on the *munājāt* of an anonymous dignitary (*ba'd al-ḥudūd*) on *Anwār sha'sha'āniyya*, the Imams. Comments on a saying of Imam Ja'far. Another, of the Prophet. On various subjects: animals, man, *nafs*, Imamāt, etc.

Note from a question put to Yaḥyā b. Mālīk concerning a point in the *Rasā'il* of *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*. Another point from the same.



On the whole it would be fair to say that in this bundle of chaotic information obvious chaff is intermixed with very interesting matters, and if the book is supplied with a detailed subject index, it may be of much use to the student of Ismailism.

(214) *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq* (*mimmā jumi' min Majālis Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad fī d-dīn ṣaḥī Amīr al-mu'minīn wa waṣiyyi-hi Hibat Allāh b. Mūsā b. Dā'ūd as-Sulaymānī (as-Salmānī?) qaddas Allāh rūḥa-hu*), another voluminous production of the same author. It is a synopsis of the contents of the 800 *majlises* of Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad arranged in 18 groups of subjects. The text of extracts is literally copied, and it is a great advantage that the compiler always indicates the volume and the number of the *majlis* from which the extract has been taken. If a systematic index of subjects, terms and proper names is provided, it would be a useful source for the study of the doctrine under the Fatimids. It is difficult to say as to whether the compilation incorporates the whole text of the 800 *majlises* (except for the opening passages) because one *majlis* may be split up amongst several *bābs*. It goes without saying that the author's selection was entirely based on religious interest. The compendium is divided into 18 *bābs*: 1. *fī t-tawḥīd*; 2. *fī mā yakhtaṣṣ bi-dhikr al-Mubdi' al-Awwal*; 3. *fī dhikr Rasūl Allāh wa faḍli-hi*; 4. *fī mā yakhtaṣṣ bi-dhikr Rasūl Allāh wa dhikr Waṣiyyi-hi*; 5. *fī-hi dhikr mā yakhtaṣṣ bi-dhikr Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī ibn 'Abī Ṭālib*; 6. *fī mā yakhtaṣṣ bi-dhikr al-A'imma*; 7. *dhikr al-ḥudūd*; 8. *mādat, ta'yīd, waḥy, ḥāl al-Anbiyā'*; 9. ?(its heading is omitted in F., and the whole chapter is missing in the copy which I examined); 10. *wujūb ukhdh al-'ahd; wujūb at-ta'wīl*; 11. *dhikr al-ghulāt wa ahl at-tanāsukh wa'r-radd 'alay-him*; 12. *ar-radd 'alā l-falāsifa wa'l-mu'aṭṭila wa ahl an-nujūm*; 13. *ar-radd 'alā l-Miṣrī wa'th-Thughūrī wa'l-Mu'tazila wa'l-Yahūd*; 14. *aḍḍād al-Waṣī wa'l-A'imma wa dhikr Iblīs kull 'aṣr wa'z-zamān wa ḍidd kull Nāṭiq*; 15. sermons on moral matters; 16. *Qā'im al-Qiyāmat*; 17. *Ma'ād*; 18. *ahl al-'adhāb*.

(215) *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, on ethics, compiled from tradition of the Imams, verses of the Coran, various early works on ethics, the *Rasā'il* of *Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā*, and *Majālis* of Imam al-'Azīz bi'l-lāh. It is not divided into chapters, but new subjects are introduced by "*faṣl*". Occasional references are made to ancient philosophers.

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(216) *Tuhfat al-qulûb wa farjat al-makrûb*, also named by the author *Tuhfat al-qulûb fî tartîb al-hudât wa'd-du'ât fî'l-jazîrat al-Yamaniyya*, an elementary work on the doctrine of Ismailism to which a short note is added on the shifting of the leaders of the Musta'lian Ismailis from Cairo to the Yaman, and on the few earliest *dā'īs*. Cf. my article "The Organisation of the Fatimid Propaganda" in the Journ. of the Bombay Branch of the R. Asiatic S-ty, 1939, pp. 13 - 14. The book, as many other writings of this author, is not divided into regular chapters, but each section is simply marked by *fasl* (altogether 21 of them). It contains a considerable element of controversy against the *ghulât* of various kinds, but, unfortunately, the information is rendered useless by the author's never mentioning the name of the sect against which it is directed. The most valuable part of the work is the quotation of an earlier treatise, which is apparently lost, *ar-R. al-Mûjizât al-Kāfiya fî Shurûṭ ad-Da'wat al-Hādiya*, by Sayyid-nā Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm an-Naysābūrī (cf. no. 118). The author also refers to his earlier "one *risāla* after another", especially the one with the title *ar-Risālat al-Jawhara* (or *Jawhariyya?*), cf. no. 227.

(217) *Zahr Badhri'l-Haqā'iq*, divided into 18 *mas'alas*: 1. *ibdā' al-'uqûl*, etc.; 2. *al-aflāk*, etc.; 3. *kurrât an-nār*; 4. *Nāṭiq, Waṣf, Imāms*; 5. *al-hayāt as-sāriya*; 6. *dhanb Ādam*; 7. *rutbat al-mustajīb*, etc.; 8. *at-tajarrud minā'l-jism*, etc.; 9. *al-Jannat wa'n-Nār*; 10. *al-ibtidā' wa'l-ma'ād*; 11. *Kayf lā'a'l-jism*, etc.; 12. *ma'ād al-mu'min*, etc. 13. *sharaf al-masājid*, etc.; 14. *al-ba'th wa'n-nushûr*; 15. *aṭ-ṭarîq*; 16. *al-maṭar*; 17. *'aqlu'l-hadd*; 18. *hayûlā'l-mu'min*, etc. The text was edited by Dr. 'Ādil al-'Awwā, in his "*Muntakhabât Ismā'iliyya*", Damascus, 1958, pp. 157 — 180.

(218) *al-Mafākhir wa'l-ma'āthir*, on excellent qualities of 'Alī.

(219) *Mafātīḥ an-ni'mat* (to be distinguished from the work by Qāḍī Nu'mān with the same title, cf. no. 81). It is a collection of notes on religious and philosophical matters.

(220) *Mafātīḥ al-kunûz*, on whether al-Mahdī really was a descendant of Imam Ḥusayn. The work appears to be lost.

(221) *an-Naqd (an-Nuqāt?) 'alā ahl al-makhāṭ fî-mārtakab minā'l-fisq wa'l-khabāṭ*, on sinners and their offences.

(222) *at-Tadhkira*, miscellanies on religious and theosophic subjects.



(223) *al-Majâlis al-azhar fî faḍl Ṣāhib al-Kawthar wa dhikr al-‘Id al-akbar fî yawm an-naṣṣ al-ashhar*, on the ‘id of Ghadîr Khum (cf. *Azhâr* vi).

(224) *K. al-Masâlik*, not in F.

(225) *al-Majâlis*, a collection of 15 *majlises*.

(226) *al-Majâlis*, a larger collection, originally of 77 *majlises* of which only 52 are preserved.

(227) *al-Jawhara* (or *al-Jawhariyya*?), cf. no. 216, referred to in the *Tuhfat al-Qulûb*, on matters connected with the *da‘wat*.

(228) *Maṣābîḥ al-ḥaqā‘iq al-hâdiya ilâ awḍaḥ al-ṭarā‘iq*, not mentioned in F.

(229) *al-Iḥsân fî khalq al-insân*, on righteous life and ethics, divided into five *faṣls*: 1. *fî bayân al-iḥsân fî khalq al-insân* (after which the *risâla* received its title); 2. *ḥayâtu-hu‘l-juz‘iyya*; 3. *mawtu-hu‘l-juz‘i*; 4. *mawtu-hu‘l-kullî*; 5. *ḥayâtu-hu‘l-kullîyya*.

Abû Tamâm, a *dâ‘î* who flourished about the beginning of the vii/xiii c.

(230) *al-Urjûza li-Abî Tamâm*, a versified treatise in 131 *bayt* on elements of the Ismaili doctrine. It is apparently also called *Kitâb ash-Shajara* (?).

‘Alî b. Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhim, the son of the third *dâ‘î*, and himself the fourth *dâ‘î*, d. the 25 Dhî Qa‘da 605/31-v-1209.

(231) *Rawḍat al-ḥikam aṣ-ṣâfiya wa bustân al-‘ulûm al-wâfiya*, on a number of points in Ismaili esoterism, in 17 *mas‘alas*, taken from various earlier works: 1. on the *ḥudûd*, comments on Abû Ya‘qûb as-Sijzî in his *K. al-Bishârât* (cf. no. 45); 2. *al-A‘imma*, also comments on the words of the same author, apparently from the same work; 3. *dawr al-ijrâm*, also from Sijzî; 4. *al-Qâ‘im ‘alay-nâ salâmu-hu*; 5. *an-nufûs ar-rîḥiyya tabliḡh ilâ‘l-mushtarî*; 6. *al-mashmûmât mithl al-musk wa‘l-‘anbar wa‘l-kâfûr*; 7. *ibtidâ‘ al-ḥunûf* or



rûhâniyya (*wa*) *anwâr rûhâniyya*, also from a work of Abû Ya'qûb: 8. *kam dâr min al-adwâr wa'l-akwâr ilâ waqti-nâ hadhâ*; 9. *al-wahy al-muttaṣil bi'r-Rasûl fî waqt dîn waqt*; 10. *al-ajal*, commenting on a saying of Imam Mîd al-Bâqir; 11. *an-Nuṭaqâ' hum ajzâ' an-naḥs al-kullîyya*, also from *k. al-Bishârât* of Abû Ya'qûb (use of cipher); 12. *faḍalât ahl adwâr 'ind qiyâm al-Qâ'im*; 13. *ta'yîd*, from the *Munâjât* of *al-Mu'ayyad*; 14. *hal an-nâs majbûrûn 'alâ'l-ma'âṣi*, a question put to Imam Ja'far; 15. relative places of the Prophet Muḥammad, 'Alî and Qâ'im *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*; 16. *malâ'ika*; 17. *Allâh âkhâ bayn al-arwâḥ fî'l-aẓillat thumm askan-hum al-abdân ba'd dhâlik*, from a saying of Imam Ja'far.

(232) *Risâla*, a short note on theosophy, eight small pages, sometimes under the same title as the preceding treatise. In one copy that I examined it is called "*ta'lîf Sayyid-nâ 'Alî b. Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥâmidî*". It opens with *qâl sayyid-nâ Yahyâ b. Lamak b. Mâlik . . . i'lam anna'l-kurraṭ wa mā 'alay-hâ . . .* In another copy there is nothing about the author, and it begins with: *qâl sayyid-nâ Ḥâtim b. (sic) Yahyâ b. Lamak b. Mâlik*.

'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, the fifth *dâ'i*, d. 27 Sha'bân 612/21-xii-1115. *Nuzhat al-afkâr* refers only to his *Dâmigh al-bâṭil*; *Muntaza'* ii says nothing about his books.

(233) *Mulḥiqat al-adhhân wa munabbihat al-wasnân*, a treatise on religious ethics divided into 12 *faṣls*. Apparently one of the earliest works of the author as it is included in the first vol. of the MT (19). *Faṣl* 1 on *ta'dîb* of man; 2. on man's position in the universe; 3. necessity of search for 'ilm; 4. *'âlam nafsânî*; 5. *ta'yîd* etc.; 6. piety; 7. *jism jumlat . . . al-'âlam al-jismânî*, etc. 8. *'ilm wa faḍl al-'ulamâ'*; 9. more on 'ilm; 10. *'âlam al-ṭabî'at*; 11. *al-'uqûl al-ibdâ'iyya*; 12. *ibtidâ'*.

(234) *Dâmigh al-bâṭil wa ḥaṭf al-munâḍil*, a refutation of *al-Mustazhirî*, or, giving it its full title, *Kitâb Faḍâ'iḥ al-Bâṭiniyya wa Faḍâ'il al-Mustazhiriyya* (derived from the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustazhir, 487-512/1094-1118), by the famous theologian, Muḥammad al-Ghazâlî (d. 505/1111). Extracts from this

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work have been edited and summarized in the "Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Batinijja-Sekte" by I. Goldziher, 1916, on the basis of the Ms. Or. 7782 in the British Museum. The selection of quotations was made by the author entirely in the spirit of ideas about Ismailism as they were universally accepted at that time, missing much of what was really essential in the work. The original *al-Mustaẓhiri*, in a complete copy, should have taken many times as much as Goldziher's text (81 pp.).

Its refutation, the *Dāmigh al-Bāṭil*, is a large work, in two vols. forming together over 1250 large size pages. It is divided into 12 *bābs*, of which the first two are introductory, and the other ten are each devoted to one of the *bābs* into which al-Ghazālī's work is divided: 1. *yataḍamman Sharḥ ḥāl hadhā'l-mulḥid* . . . 2. . . *ar-radd 'alay-ki fī taḥmīd kitābi-hi* . . .; 3. . . *ar-radd 'alay-hi 'an bābi-hi al-awwal fī dhikr istinhāj al-minhāj fī siyāqat kitābi-hi*; 4. . . *ar-radd 'alay-hi fī mā sharaḥa-hu fī al-bāb ath-thānī min dhikr bayān alqāb man samā-hum al-Bāṭiniyya* . . .; 5. *ar-radd 'alay-hi fī bābi-hi ath-thālith . . . darajāt ḥiyali-him fī't-talbīs* . . .; 6. *ar-radd . . . fī bābi-hi ar-rābi' 'ammā dhakara-hu fī naql madhhab-him jumlatan wa tafṣīlan*; 7. *ar-radd . . . fī bābi-hi al-khāmis . . . fī ta'wīlāt-him* . . .; 8. . . *ar-radd . . . fī bābi-hi as-sādis . . . adillati-him al-'aqliyya 'alā naṣṣ madhhab-him* . . .; 9. . . *ar-radd fī bābi-hi as-sābi' . . . ibtāl istidlālāt-him bi'n-naṣṣ 'alā naṣab al-Imām al-ma'sūm*; 10. . . *ar-radd . . . fī bābi-hi ath-thāmin . . . fī muqtaḍā fatwā ash-shar' fī ḥaqqi-him min at-tabarā wa at-takfīr wa safk ad-dam*; 11. . . *ar-radd . . . bābi-hi at-tāsi' . . . fī iqāmat al-burhān al-'aqlī wa ash-shar'ī 'alā anna al-Imām al-ḥaqq fī 'aṣri-hi bi-za'mi-hi huwa al-Mustaẓhir*; 12. . . *ar-radd . . . fī bābi-hi al-'āshir. jāmi'atan li'r-radd 'alā amthāl hadhā al-māriq.*

The work contains some interesting material, although, by far, for the most part, it consists of platitudes and abuse poured upon the author of *al-Mustaẓhiri* for his wrongful condemnation of Ismailism.

(235) *adh-Dhakhīra (al-muḥtawī 'alā mā yusfī aṣ-ṣūrat wa yunawwir al-baṣīra)*, one of the most secret works of the neo-Yamanite period. In the preface it is said that none should read it except with permission of the *dā'i* of the province to whom he may be known personally. Size about 200 pages. F – not seen



(apparently due to diplomatical blindness). The work is divided into 35 *faṣls* of which some have headings, and the majority not: 1. *tawhīd* (*al-Ghayb subḥāna-hu*); 2. *fī ibtidā' al-wujūd ar-rūḥānī aṣ-ṣiwarī wa'l-ibdā' al-qudsānī an-nūrī*; 3. *al-ashbah an-nayyirā*; 4. *fī l-wujūd al-awwal bi'l-inbi'āth al-awwal min al-munba'ath al-awwal*; 5. *al-inbi'āth li'l-Munba'ith al-awwal as-sābiq la-hu*; 6. sin and rebellion; 7. the *aṣlāk* and *kawākib*; 8. *fī zuḥūr ash-shakhṣ al-fāḍil dhī'n-nūr al-kāmil al-ladhī huwa ghāyat al-khūlqat*; 9. *ḥudūd ad-dīn*; 10. *īmān*; 11. *Imāmat*; 12. *bāb*; 13. embryo; 14. *Imāmat*, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il as the "Seventh", al-Mu'izz, *Qā'im al-Qiyāmat 'alā dhikri-hi's-salām*; 15. *al-Qā'im*; 16. *Adwār*; *al-farq bayn madhhab al-Ghulāt al-malā'in wa bayn madhhab ahl al-ḥaqq*; 17. *nafs* and Divinity; 18. *Imamat in Biblical precedents*; 19. Muḥammad the Prophet; 20. 'Alī; 21. Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet; 22. *Muḥammad b. Ismā'il mutimm ar-rusul wa khātim dawri-him*; 23. *Qā'im* of the *juz'ī Qiyāmat*; 24. Astrology; 25. *al-ta'rikh al-a'zam*; 26. *sharī'at*; 27. Saints accompanying the Prophet; 28. Enemies and sinners; 29. The body of the vile enemy after death; 30. Rabble and rogues punished; 31. *'adhāb*; 32. *nafs nāṭiqā, ḥissiyā*, etc. 33. Reward of the faithful; 34. The Jinn; 35. Retribution.

No works are quoted or referred to, as also no persons except for Salsal (Salmān? cf. *aṣ-ṣiwar as-Salmāniyya*), Jābir b. Zayd al-Ju'fī, and Qāḍī Nu'mān. Everything is saturated with astrological speculations.

(236) *Dīwān* of poetry in praise of the Imams, early Yamaniite *dā'īs*, and the *Imamat* of aṭ-Ṭayyib.

(237) *ar-Risālat fī ma'nā l-Ism al-A'zam* (in magic cipher), a short note.

(238) *Lubāb al-fawā'id wa ṣafw al-aqā'id*, a short treatise on the principal elements of the doctrine. The author in his introduction deplores the decline of religion, to combat which he wrote a *risāla* with the title *al-Īqāz wa't-tadhkār*, in the fourth *bāb* of which he had already treated the same problems. He therefore specially devoted the present treatise to the questions of *mabda'* and *ma'ād*. The work has no subdivisions in the first half, but in the second it is divided into short *faṣls*, without headings.



Reference to *ash-shakhṣ al-fāḍil Ṣāhib ar-Rasā'il fī Jāmi'at al-Jāmi'a dhāt al-fawā'id an-nāfi'a*.

(239) *Ḍiyā' al-albāb al-muḥtawī 'alā'l-masā'il wa'l-jawāb*, a collection of instructive information on religious and esoteric matters, of the usual Yamanite type, divided into 32 *mas'alas*: 1. *tawḥīd*; 2. to the question of Sayyid-nā Ḥamīd ad-dīn's criticisms (in his *K. ar-Riyāḍ*) of certain statements found in the *K. al-Maḥṣūl* (cf. above, no. 24); 3. *ma'nā'l-ibdā'*; 4. inconsistencies in the theory of creation in the *K. al-Ibtidā' wa'l-intihā'* (by Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad, cf. above, no. 170); 5. *rubḥat al-a'dād at-ṭabī'iyya*; 6. *awwal al-aḥ'āl al-ibdā'*, *wa fi'lu-hu wa'l-maḥ'ūlu-hu huwa's-Sābiq*; 7. *azaliyyat as-Sābiq wa azaliyyat mabda'i-hi*; 8. *as-Sābiq tāmm al-quwwat wa'l-fi'l*; 9. *al-Mubdī' wa'l-mukhtari'*; 10. *anwār* of the *Sābiq* and *Tāli*, and the hierarchy of the *ḥudūd ad-dīn*; 11. what is the Divine *fayḍ* benefiting the universe; 12. *ma'rifat al-ibtidā' wa'l-ma'ād*; 13. Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad's book on *ma'ād*; 14. *ṭabī'at*, *dawrs* of *kashf* and *satr*; 15. whether there were angels of a higher standing than those who had to prostrate before Adam; 16. whether Noah was the first Prophet to introduce a *sharī'at*, as stated in Abū Tamām's *K. ash-Shajarat* (see above, no. 230); 17. again from the same book, on the spirit of Adam, Jesus and Noah after it left their bodies; more comments on Abū Tamām's *K. ash-Shajara*, on esoteric matters, eschatology, Imamāt, *ḥudūd* and so forth.

(240) *al-Īdāh wa't-Tabyīn fī kayfiyyat tasalsul wilādat al-jism wa'd-dīn*, a treatise on theosophy, Imamāt, *ḥudūd*, etc. Few books are cited, one being the *K. al-Fatarāt wa'l-qirānāt* (no. 18). A lengthy *muqaddima* (in which the title of the work is mentioned); the text is divided into unnumbered *faṣls* without headings. Extracts in *Azhār* vii; cf. Griffini, 86, xiv. Ed. by R. Strothmann, Goettingen, 1943, "Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten", pp. 137-158.

(241) *Jalā' al-'uqūl*, in three *bābs*, subdivided altogether into 28 *faṣls*: 1. *tawḥīd*; *khilqat jismāniyya*; 2. *khilqat nafsāniyya*; 3. *silsilat al-wulāt ad-dīniyya*; *thawāb*; *'iqāb*.

(242) *Niẓām al-wujūd wa tartīb al-ḥudūd*, on the names of Ismaili functionaries in the Yaman at the author's time; extracts in *Azhār* iii.



(243) *Tuhfat al-murtâd wa ghuṣṣat al-addâd*, a refutation of the fraudulent pretences of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥâfīz (524–544/1130–1149) and his successors to be regarded as Imams, and defence of the rights of the problematic aṭ-Ṭayyib. Griffini, 86, xv; ed. by R. Strothmann, 1943, "Gnosis-texte der Ismailiten", in *Abh. d. Ak. d. W., Goettingen*, pp. 159–170.

(244) *Tāj al-‘aqā'id wa ma'din al-fawā'id*, a compendium of the dogma of Ismailism, arranged in 100 *i'tiqāds*. It was summed up by W. Ivanow in "A Creed of the Fatimids", Bombay, 1936.

(245) *Lubb al-ma'ārif*, divided into seven *mas'alas*: 1. *qiyām al-Qā'im fī 'ālam aṭ-ṭabī'at*, the *sharī'at* of his period (Sayyid-nā Ḥamīd ad-dīn's *K. ar-Riyāḍ* and *Rāḥat al-‘aql* are also referred to); 2. *hayūlā wa ṣūrat* and their origin from 'aql (works of Ḥamīd ad-dīn referred to); 3. *iḥdāth wa khurūj* at the *qiyām al-Qā'im 'alā dhikri-hi's-salām*; 4. on the words of al-Mu'izz *ti-dīn Allāh*, quoted by Q. Nu'mān in his work *al-Majālis wa'l-musāyarāt*, about the heaven and earth being *fānī*, i. e. transient; 5. Comments on the words of Mawlā-nā al-Mustanṣir in his reply to the question put by 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī as to the *Qā'im* (and not Muḥammad b. Ismā'il) being the seventh *Nāṭiq*; 6. on the statement in Sayyid-nā Ḥamīd ad-dīn's work *al-Maṣābīḥ fī'l-Imāmat* (see no. 125) that the community needs the Imam, and he has to take taxes from it; references to Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman's *Sīrat* of his father (or ancestor), Q. Nu'mān's *Iftitāḥ ad-da'wa*, to *ash-Shakhṣ al-Fāḍil Ṣāḥib ar-Rasā'il*. Some references to the *da'wat*, its organisation, the Musta'lian Imams, eminent *dā'īs* in the Yaman, etc., are given; 7. on the statement in Q. Nu'mān's *Asās an-Nuṭāqā'* (sic, - *Asās at-Ta'wīl?*) about taking oath of allegiance (*'uhūd wa mawāthiq*). References to Biblical archetypes. Reference to the author's own work, the *Tuhfat al-Murtâd* (cf. above, no. 243).

(246) *al-Mufīda fī idāḥ mulghaz al-Qaṣīda*, explanation of the difficult passages in the *qaṣīda* attributed to Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā. The text of the whole *qaṣīda* is quoted at the beginning, and the commentary is divided into unnumbered and titleless *faṣls*. References to the works of Ḥamīd ad-dīn and some other authors in

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the text. The work is regarded as *doubtful*, but the manner and style is the same as in other works of the author.

(247) *al-Īqāz wa't-Tadhkār*, referred to in the *Lubāb al-fawā'id wa-ṣaḥīḥ al-ʿaḳā'id* (see no. 238). Apparently lost.

(248) *Nahj al-Īdāh*, referred to in the *Nizām al-wujūd*, see no. 242, pointed out in the review by P. Kraus. Apparently lost.

(249) *al-Īdāh wa't-tafsīr fī ma'nā yawm Ghadīr* (in a private collection) perhaps the same as *al-Īdāh wa't-tafsīr fī faḍl yawm al-Ghadīr*, which is sometimes ascribed to Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad; or is it an "answer" to it? Cf. no. 167-A.

(250) *Majālis an-naṣḥ wa'l-bayān*, instructive lectures on a variety of religious, theosophic and didactic subjects. At present only *majālis* 101-140 are preserved, a volume of 580 pages. Perhaps intended as an imitation of the *Mi'āt* of Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad?

(251) *Mukhtaṣar al-uṣūl*, a short treatise, apparently derived from Qāḍī Nu'mān's *Ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madhāhib* (see no. 73), in four *bābs*: 1. *al-qawl fī sharḥ al-maḳālāt wa kam inqasamat fī-mā jā bi-hi'n-Nabī*; 2. *ar-radd ʿalā'l-firqat al-ḥashwiyya al-ladhīn hum ash-Shāfiʿiyya wa'l-Mālikiyya*; 3. *ar-radd ʿalā aṣḥāb ar-ra'y min al-Mu'tazila wa'z-Zaydiyya wa amthāli-him . . .*; 4. *ar-radd ʿalā Mu'aṭṭilī'l-Falāsifat al-Malāḥida wa'z-Zanādiqa wa man yajma'-hum*.

ʿAlī b. Hanzala b. Abī Salīm al-Mahfūzī al-Wādiʿī, the sixth *dāʿī*, d. 22 Rab. i 626/18-ii-1229.

(252) *Ḍiyā' al-hulūm wa miṣbāḥ al-ʿulūm*, a treatise on the elements of dogma, in four *bābs*: 1. *tawḥīd, ma'nā't-tanzīh, tajrīd*; 2. *mabda'*; 3. *al-ma'ād al-maḥmūd*; 4. *al-ma'ād al-madhmūm*.

(253) *Simt al-ḥaqā'iq*, a popular work on the *ḥaqā'iq* in verse, in the form of a *mathnawī* poem of 663 bayts. It is divided into *qawls*: *tawḥīd*; *wujūd ʿālam al-ibdā'*; *aṣḥāb*; *al-arkān*; *al-mazāj al-mumtazaj wa adwār al-kawākib as-sab'a*; *dawr satr*; *al-ma'ād al-maḥmūd*; *wujūd an-nāsūt wa ittihādū-hā bi'l-lāhūt*; *al-ma'ād al-madhmūm*.



ṣiḡat al-baḥṡh, thawāb, ‘iqāb. Edited by ‘Abbas al-‘Azzāwī, Damascus, 1953, with notes and indexes, and dedicated to the headpriest of the Dawudī Bohoras.

Husayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, the eighth *dā‘ī*, d. 22 Ṣafar 667/31-x-1268.

(254) *‘Aqīdat al-muwahḥidīn wa mūdīḡat marātib ahl ad-dīn*, explanation of the principles of Ismaili theosophy in the Yamani manner of question and answers. The book is divided into unnumbered and headingless *faṣls*. Works of Sayyid-nā Ḥamīd ad-dīn, al-Mu‘ayyad, and others are referred to.

(255) *ad-‘Īdāḡ wa’l-bayān fī’l-kashf* (or *fī’l-bayān, fī’l-jawāb*) *‘an masā’il al-‘imtiḡān*, divided into 25 *mas’alas* on: *ṣiḡat Allāḡ; aḡsan al-khāliḡīn; ḡurūf kun-fa-yakūn; rubūbiyyat wa khilqat; jinn wa īns; tafāwut al-akhlāḡ; dhabḡ al-ḡaywānāt; khalq Iblīs; shajarat Ādam; Allāḡ “istawā ‘alā’l-‘arsh”; ḡukm al-‘ibādat; al-ikhtilāf illā min raḡm Rabbi-ka; 73 firqas; sharā’i‘ al-anbiyā; mawḡū‘āt shar‘iyya; ash-shaḡī; mawt; Jannat wa’n-Nār; ikhtiyār Allāḡ li’l-anbiyā; bayān “wa inna ‘alay-kum la-ḡāfiḡīn”* (Cor. LXXXII, 10-12); *“wa naḡa‘ al-mawā-ḡīn bi’l-ḡist”* (Cor. XXI, 48); *amr Allāḡ li-malā’ikati-ḡi bi-ta’dhīb al-mu’adḡḡabīn; ḡāl man yakūn fī’l-Jannat; al-ladḡīn shāḡū fa-fi’n-Nār*. Extracts in *Azhār* vii.

(256) *al-‘Īdāḡ wa’l-tabṡīr fī jawāb mas’alat al-Mawlā*, also quoted in *Azhār*.

(257) *at-Tis‘ūniyya*, a *qaṣīda* on the rights of aṡ-Ṭayyib to Imamāt, quoted at the end of *Azhār* ii.

(258) *al-Wahīda fī tathbīt arkān al-‘aqīda*, in three *bābs*: 1. *al-istitār wa taghallub al-bāṡīl ‘alā’l-ḡaqq; 2. aṡl al-khilqat wa mabda’ al-fiṡrat; 3. ḡaḡīḡat al-ma’ād wa’th-thawāb wa’l-‘iqāb, wa’l-bayān ‘anī’l-mustaḡaqq li-rulbat ad-da‘wat*. Each *bāb* is subdivided into a number of *faṣls*. This treatise is remarkable for the abundance of quotations from earlier literature with indications of the titles of works and names of the authors, and it would deserve careful examination for this reason rather than commonplace discussions of well-known subjects with which it deals.



(259) *Māḥiyat az-zūr wa dāmighal al-kufūr*, a refutation of the heresy of the Mu'tazilī lord of Ḥiṣn Kajlān.

(260) *al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'ād*, not in F. The work (perhaps an extract from a larger work) is about 50 pages long. The first part is divided into *faṣls*, not numbered and bearing no headings. In the second half there is no such division, and different paragraphs are introduced by *i'lam*, etc., in red ink.

‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, the son and successor of the preceding, and himself the 9th *dā'i*, d. 13 Dh. Qa'da 682/2-ii-1284.

(261) *al-Kāmila fi'th-thalāth al-layālī'l-faḍila*, in three *bābs*, on the three sacred nights of the month of Rajab.

(262) *Tuhfat at-tālib wa umniyyat al-bāḥith ar-rāghib*, obviously the same work which is included in MT i (no. 205, 24), where it is ascribed to the authorship of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd, which must be correct.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, the 11th *dā'i*, d. 10 Shawwāl 728/18-viii-1328.

(263) *Tis'a wa tis'ūn mas'ala fi'l-ḥaqā'iq*, on the usual *ḥaqā'iq* topics.

(264) *K. an-Nafs* (?)

‘Abd Allāh Fakhr ad-dīn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, the 16th *dā'i*, d. 9 Ramaḍān 809/17-ii-1407.

(265) *al-Muntra fi ma'rifat ḥudūd al-jazīra*, on Imamāt, *ḥudūd*, etc. Extract in *Azhār* iii.

al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, d. 10 Ram. 823/18-ix-1420 (?). Very doubtful.



(266) *Qaṣida fi'r-radd 'alā'z-Zaydiyya*. Not in F.

Sharaf (or *Sharīf*) *ad-dīn Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahfūẓī*, d. 3 Dh. Hijja 845/14-iv-1442 (so in the work itself).

(267) *al-Mūqīza min naḥw al-ghaflat, wa's-sunnat fī ṣiyām al-ayyām al-mufaḍḍala fī's-sanat wa mā fī dhalik min al-ma'ānī ash-sharīfa al-ḥasana*, composed according to the note at the end of the work itself and completed on 14 Dh. Hijja 840/19-vi-1437. It is divided into two *bābs* each subdivided into 13 *faṣls*: *bāb* 1. *at-targhīb fī'ṣ-ṣiyām*; 2. *ma'nā'ṣ-ṣiyām*.

(268) *al-Ibānā wa't-taṣrīḥ fī ma'nā'ṣ-ṣalāt wa't-tasbīḥ*, in three *bābs*, explaining the esoteric implications of Islamic prayer, with much discussion of what the author calls *al-ḥikmat al-maknūna*.

(269) *al-Wa'z wa't-taṣwīq wa'l-hidāyat ilā siwā't-tariq*, in six *bābs*, containing the material appropriate for sermons on the occasion of various religious events falling on every month of the year.

Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, 'Imādad-dīn, the 19th *dā'ī* (since 832/1428), d. 19 Dh. Qa'da 872/10 - vi - 1468. An expressly priestly figure, narrow minded, very superstitious. His "speciality" were works of historical contents which in the absence of any other sources are of value. Yet it is necessary to note that the author is hopelessly indiscriminate in mixing up Ismaili sources with anti-Ismaili, never specifying them, and thus often placing the reader into the position of helplessness in separating information which one may regard as authentic from that which is often obvious fiction and insinuation of hostile propaganda. Similarly, he does not discriminate between history and legend, the events as they were in reality and as they should have been according to various religious schemes. The *Muntaza 'al-akhbār* ii devotes to him a short note, chiefly dealing with the growing relations with the Indian

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community, but gives a valuable list of his literary works, composed of eleven items. It is highly probable that this list does not show *all* that Idris b. al-Ḥasan had really written, but only those books which were in existence at the time of the author, Quṭb-bḥai Burhānpūrī, i.e. towards the end of the XVIII c., in India.

(270) *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār wa Funūn al-āthār Jī dhikr an-Nabī al-Muṣṭafā al-Mukhtār wa Waṣīyyi-hi ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib qātil al-kuffār, wa āli-himā al-‘immat al-aḥbār ‘alay-him ṣalawāt Allāh al-‘Azīz al-Ghaḥfār*, in seven volumes, a compendium of tradition and history from the creation of the world and till the period of the Yamanite *dā‘īs*, the predecessors of the author. The fourth volume, of which an autograph copy is said to be preserved in the library of the Dāwūdī Bohra religious headquarters in Surat, North of Bombay, contains a colophon in which it is stated that it was completed the 22nd Rab.I 842/12-ix-1438. The first three volumes, dealing with the ancestors of the Prophet, his biography, the biography of ‘Alī, and his wars, is entirely based on tradition, and have little regard to history. The *fourth*, beginning with the story of Imam Ḥasan, and ending with al-Mahdī, is based on tradition, *Istitār al-Imām, Iflitāḥ ad-da‘wa*, and various non-Ismaili sources. Vols. 5,6,7 (first half) on the history of the Fatimids from al-Qā‘im till al-Āmir and his puppet succesors, are entirely second hand, are based on shabby information, as it was apparently available in the Yaman in the XV c., with only a few Ismaili sources being used, such as *Sīrat Jawdhar, as-Sīrat al-Mu‘ayyadiyya*, and a few other works. As to the *da‘wat* in the Yaman, at the beginning of the period of *satr*, just as in the first volume of the author’s other work, the *Nuzhat al-afkār*, it strikes one with utter meagreness, the lack of information being camouflaged with bombast verbosity and quotations of quite unbearable poetry. It is remarkable that the author himself had so little idea of the real history of Ismailism that he accepted many anti-Ismaili versions of fiction treating them as true, and tried to patch up the cracks between the traditional ideas and the word of supposed “history” by improvising compromiss versions.

Vol. I. *Faḍā’il abā’ an-Nabī; sīrat an-Nabī*, ending with the



marriage of his daughter Fâṭima to 'Alī. Pages and pages of laudatory poetry by different authors are quoted.

Vol. II. *Sīrat Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, ending with his conflict with Mu'āwiya.

Vol. III. *Dhikr jihādi-hi li'l-qāsiṭīn wa'l-māriqīn*, 'Alī's wars and his assassination.

Vol. IV. *Dhikr as-Sibṭayn al-Imāmayn . . . Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan wa Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn*; the successors of the latter, up to Imam Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and the three *mastūr* Imams, to the eve of the campaigns of al-Mahdī. The author uses much the *Sharḥ al-akhbār* by Qāḍī Nu'mān, and the *K. Istitār al-Imām*. (Cf. W. Ivanow, "Ismailis and Qarmatians", J.B.B.R.A.S., 1940, pp. 43 — 85, and "Early Shi'ite Movements", *ibid.*, 1941, pp. 1-23) .

Vol. V. *Dhikr mā jā min al-bishārāt bi-zuhūr Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Abd Allāh Abī Muḥammad al-Mahdī bi'l-lāh wa . . . mā kān . . . fī ayyāmi-hi* (here almost everything is literally copied from the *Ifli-tāḥ ad-da'wa*) . Al-Qā'im. Biographies of: Ustādh Jawdhar; Abū Ḥatīm b. Ḥamdān ar-Rāzī and his *Kilāb az-Zīna* (very meagre, no dates); al-Manṣūr; Qāḍī Nu'mān.

Vol. VI. *Dhikr nubdh min al-akhbār minmā kān fī ayyām al-Mu-'izz li-dīn Allāh*. More on Qāḍī Nu'mān; a list of his works; al-'Azīz; al-Ḥākim; Ḥamīd ad-dīn al-Kirmānī and some of his works (a very meagre note, no dates); az-Zāhir; al-Mustanṣir; note on al-Mu'ayyad fī'd-dīn.

Vol. VII. *Tamām qiṣṣat Amīr al-mu'minīn al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh*; beginning of information concerning the Yamanite *dā'īs*; more on al-Mu'ayyad; al-Musta'li; dethronment of Imām Nizār; al-Āmir; *dhikr mā kān min al-imtiḥān ba'd wafāt al-Amīr bi-ahkām Allāh wa taghallub wa istitār Mawlā-nā Amīr al-mu'minīn Abī'l-Qāsim aṭ-Ṭayyib*; the rest of the volume is devoted to the affairs in the Yaman, praising local parish-prominent men almost on the same scale as the Fatimid Imams.

(271) *Nuzhat al-afkār wa-rawḍat al-akhbār fī dhikr mān qām bi'l-Yaman min al-mulūk al-kibār wa'd-du'āt al-akhyār*, stories of local tradition about the petty chieftains and *dā'īs* in the Yaman who were connected with the post-Fatimid propaganda in



that province. The author's information is remarkably meagre while his memory for fantastic genealogies and bombastic poetry is really amazing. The first 100 pages are devoted to a survey of the *da'wat* in the Yaman from its beginning until the appointment of the first regular *dā'i* Dhu'ayib (d. 546/1151). Short biographical notes of a succession of chief *dā'is* is given, with additional notes on their prominent contemporaries, but references to their works are extremely rare. The meagreness of information is made up by bombastic praises and quotations of poetry. Dates of their deaths are given, but it is a difficult question as to the extent of their reliability. The impression is that no regular records were kept, and what is offered by the author is derived from oral tradition and from what was preserved of the official correspondence.

The work is regarded as divided into two volumes, but such division appears to be rather artificial. The *first* vol. ends with the note on the 17th *dā'i* al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī, which is incomplete, and the *second* vol., which is much larger than the first, is entirely devoted to the notes on that 17th *dā'i*, and the 18th, i. e. the immediate predecessors of the author, - his father and uncle. Official correspondence is quoted, plenty of the author's own poetry, and the mention of the various quarrels and minor events in the life of both *dā'is*, their relatives and friends, as seen through the magnifying glass of the author's personal contacts, interests, sympathies and antipathies. What may be valuable in this work are incidental references to the relations with the developing community in India. These may be important not only for the history of the Bohora community in India, but also as an additional source of information for the history of cultural relations between that country and Southern Arabia under Islam. It is a great pity that so little attention has been paid by the author to the literary activities of the *dā'is*, and that his references to their works are so few and rare between.

(272) *Rawḍat al-akhbār wa bahjat al-asmār*, another work "on biographies" (*fi's-sīrat*, as said in *Muntaza*), not mentioned in F. In his review P. Kraus mentions that a copy of it exists in the library of the University of Leyden, no. 1972. The work is referred to as *rawḍat* in the title.



red to in *Azhâr* ii. Copies of it appear to be rare, and I am unable to say whether it deals with history or only biography of the Prophet and Imams.

(273) *Zahr al-ma'âni* on *ḥaqā'iq*, in 21 *bābs*: 1. *ithbāt al-Mu-bdī' al-Ḥaqq wa isnād al-mawjūdāt ilā huwīyyati-hi*; 2. *salb al-asmā' wa's-ṣiṣfāt 'an-hu*; 3. *mawāqī' 'asāmī-hi'l-ḥusnā*; 4. *ṣiṣfat wujūd 'ālam al-ibdā'*; 5. *sabq al-Awwal min 'ālam al-ibdā' . . .*; 6. *kawn al-ibdā' al-awwal al-a'lā*; 7. *dhikr al-munba'ath al-mukannā 'an-hu bi'l-I.awl*; 8. *marātib 'ālam 'al-ibdā'*; 9. *'āshir ar-rutāb wa takhallufu-hu wa ibā-natu-hu*; 10. *al-hayūlā wa's-ṣūrat wa mā wujud 'an-hā min al-aḥlāk wa'l-ummahāt . . .*; 11. *al-mawālīd*; 12. *Ādam al-kullī al-awwal*; 13. *al-anbiyā'*; 14. *Muḥammad the Prophet*; 15. *'Alī*; 16. *Fāṭima*; *kawn al-Imāmat raja'at ba'd al-Ḥusayn mustaqarran wa lā takhruj 'an 'aqib al-Ḥusayn*; 17. *al-A'immat*; 18. *al-Imāmat wa'l-imām wa mā 'abar bi-hi min dhikr an-nāsūt wa'l-lāhūt fī'l - kalām*; 19. *al-ḥudūd wa man yuqīm awliyā' Allāh min-hum*; 20. *qiyām bi'l-Qā'im wa mā yakūn 'alā yaday-hi min ath-thawāb wa'l-'iqāb wa's-su'ūd . . .*; 21. *ma'ād al-aḥdād*.

(274) *R. al-Bayān li-mā wajab min ma'rifat aṣ-ṣalāt fī niṣf shahr Rajab*, etc., on the *ta'wīl* of the notable events which occurred during the three sacred months; fast, the meaning of the prayer of Umm Dā'ūd, etc., in three *bābs*.

(275) *Dīwān* of poetry, in praise of the Imams and of some Yamanite *dā'īs*.

(276) *Īdāḥ al-i'lām fī kamāl 'iddat aṣ - ṣiyām*, sometimes called *al-Īdāḥ wa'l- i'lām*, etc., or, as in the *muqaddima* of the work itself: *Īdāḥ al-i'lām wa ibānat al-hidāyat fī kamāl aṣ-ṣiyām*, on the *ta'wīl* of fasting during the month of Ramaḍān. The chief source is the *majālis* of al-Mu'ayyad *fī'd-dīn*.

(277) *ar-Risālat fī'r-Radd 'alā 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm*. Cf. further on, no. 290.

(278) *'Āsimat nufūs al-muhtadīn wa qāsimat zuḥūr al-muḥtadīn*, in six *bābs*. It is a refutation of the heretical views of a certain Ḥasan b. Muḥammad. The work is not mentioned in *Muntaza'*, and is sometimes attributed to the authorship of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, q.v.



(279) *ar-R. fī'r-Radd 'alā alā'z-zindīq al-musammā bi'l-Jamal*, who, as stated in *Muntaza'*, was one of anti-Islamic propagandists criticising the religion of Islam and the Muslims; unfortunately, his identity is not revealed.

(280) *ar-Radd 'alā 'ālim min 'ulamā' az-Zaydiyya wa hadm mā nabā'-hu fī kitābi-hi min al-maḥāll*, as mentioned in *Muntaza'* ii and *Azhār* ii, a defence of Ismailism against Zaydite criticism.

(281) *Mudḥiḍat al-buhtān wa mūdḥiḥat al-ḥaqq*, not in F., but mentioned in *Muntaza'* ii and *Azhār* ii. On fasting during Ramaḍān, against the heretics amongst the Indian Ismailis who insisted on starting the fast only after seeing the new moon.

(282) *Hidāyat at-ṭālibīn wa iqāmat al-hujjat fī idāḥ al-ḥaqq al-mubīn fī jawāb al-māriqīn min ahl al-Hind*, included in *Azhār* ii.

(283) *Ḍiyā' al-baṣā'ir wa Zubdat as-sarā'ir* (in *Muntaza'* ii simply *Zubdat as-sarā'ir*), in nine *mas'alas*: 1. *'aqīdat al-muwaḥḥidīn*; 2. *min Ta'wīl ad-Da'ā'im*; 3. philosophers and *sharī'at*; 4. *dhikr ma-wālī-nā fī jamī' awḍā'i-him*; 5. *wafāt Mawlā-nā Ismā'il fī ḥayāt wālīdi-hi*; 6. *fī'l-ḥudūd, min Risālat Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm*; 7. *min Asrār an-Nuṭqa'*; 8. *min ar-R. fī'l-Ma'ād li-Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad fī'd-dīn*; 9. answers to questions derived from different earlier works.

(284) *al-R. fī hilāl aṣ-ṣawm*, suggested by P. Kraus.

(285) *Ta'wīl amthāl al-Qur'ān*, also suggested by P. Kraus.

'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn), d. 882/1477 or 886/1481.

(286) *Dīwān* of poetry.

(287) *Wasīlat al-mūlam fī tanfīs al-mughram*, a *qaṣīda* on various religious subjects.

Ḥasan b. Idrīs, Badr ad-dīn, the son of the 19th *dā'ī* and himself the 20th *dā'ī*, d. 15 Sha'bān 918/26-x-1512.

(288) *'Ibārat al-ishārat wa'l-bishārat*, included in *Azhār* ii.



(289) *Risālat al-Burhān.*

‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs, Shams ad-dīn, the 22 *dā‘ī*, d. 21 Dh. Qa‘da 933/19 - viii - 1527.

(290) *Risālat fī r-Radd ‘alā l-māriq* ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm, - or is it the work by Idrīs b. Ḥasan, cf. above, no. 277?

(291) *al-Masā’il al-‘ishrūn fī l-ḥaqīqat*, with an appendix *faṣl fī intiqāl ar-rūḥ*.

Ḥasan b. Nūḥ b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ādam al-Hindī al-Bharūchī, d. 11 Dh. Qa‘da 939/4 - vi - 1533. Apparently little is known of his biography beyond the fact that he travelled to Arabia ca. 904/1498 - 9, as may be gathered from allusions in his own book. *Muntaza‘* ii merely refers to him and his book in the note on the 24th *dā‘ī*, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān (d. 974/1567). He apparently produced only one book, his *Azhār*, which acquired wide popularity.

(292) *Kitāb al-Azhār wa majma‘ al-anwār al-malqūṭa min basātin al-asrār wa majmū‘ fawākih ar-rūḥāniyya wa th-thimār*, in seven vols. (*juz’s*) of different sizes. The work was compiled about the year 931/1525, as is referred to in the text. Although obviously modelled on the *Majmū‘ at-tarbiyat* of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (no. 205), it is not a chrestomathy, as the latter, but rather a vast compilation by the author in which works of his predecessors are sometimes quoted in extenso, but more usually paraphrased and much abbreviated. While in the MT each work is given a separate place, in the *Azhār* portions of one and the same work are either quoted or paraphrased in various contexts. While the purpose of the author of MT was obviously to give a concise but clear account of Ismailism based on the classic works of its literature, the author of the *Azhār* appears to be entirely bent on controversy, focusing his work on the vindication of the Shī‘ite theory of the rights of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to Imamāt. The *ḥaqā‘iq* occupy in his work only a secondary place.



Vol. I. 1. *Muqaddima*, giving titles of books which the author perused, references to his journey to Arabia, eulogies of the *dā'i* (20) al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs (d. 918/1512). It may be noted that the author uses the term *ta'rikh*, history, in the sense of tradition.

2. *Faṣl fī asmā' an-Nuṭaqā'*.

3. *ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, eulogical biography.

4. *al-A'imma*, arranged in heptades (*usbū'*).

5. *Faṣl fī ta'rikh waṣfāt al-ḥudūd wa'd-du'āt*, merely giving the dates of their deaths. Very few dates refer to the eminent authors of the Fatimid period. The last date is 933/1527, probably added later.

6. On dates and eras, and on important events in Islamic history.

7. *Faṣl . . . fī ithbāt Imāmat . . . ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, etc.

Vol. II: 1. The transfer of the *da'wat* centre to the Yaman, and early *dā'īs* till the author's time (with a special note on Idrīs b. Ḥasan).

2. *Faṣl*: periods of *saṭr* in history. *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā'*.

3. Astrological and traditional predictions of events connected with the Imams; early history of Shi'ism; Messianic expectations.

4. From the *Tuḥfat al-qulūb* by Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (sec no. 216).

5. More on the Yamanite *dā'īs*.

6. From *al-Mūjizat al-Kāfiya* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Naysabūrī, on the duties of *dā'ī* (cf. no. 118).

7. *al-Qaṣīdat at-Tis'ūniyya* by (Aḥmad b.) al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (cf. no. 257).

Vol. III: 1. From the *Nizām al-wujūd wa tartīb al-ḥudūd*, by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (the fifth Yamanite *dā'ī*, d. 612/1215) (cf. no. 242). It gives a list of dignitaries, with very few dates.

2. From *al-Muntra fī ma'rifat marātib ḥudūd al-jazīra*, by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, the 16th *dā'ī* (d. 809/1407), cf. above, no. 265, on the beginning of the *da'wat* at the period of the *saṭr*. Many names are mentioned, but almost no dates.



3. *ar-Risālat ilā jamā'at ahl ar-Ray*, an epistle of the *dā'i* al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Mayhadî (?) to the community of Ray, see above, no. 114.

4. *ar-Riwāyat al-jayyida min khabar al-baraniyya fī la'yīn makān Mawlā-nā at-Ṭayyib ba'd al-istitār*, a story by a certain 'Abd 'Alī b. Maḥmūd concerning the place of Ṭayyib's concealment.

5. *Qaṣīda*, by Ismā'il b. Abī Bakr.

6. *Qaṣīda*, by Ḥādī b. Ibrāhīm, a refutation of the Sufis.

7. From *Aṭbāq adh-dhahab*, etc.

8. From polemics between al-Mu'ayyad *fī'd-dīn* and Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī, from the *Mi'āt*.

Vol. IV. 1. A short *muqaddima*.

2. From the *Tanbīh al-Hādī wa'l-Mustahdī* by Sayyid-nā Ḥamīd ad-dīn al-Kirmānī (no. 127), – the beginning, *bābs* 14, 26, 27, 13.

3. From *Kitāb al-Ihtijāj* by Raḍiyyu'd-dīn Abū 'Alī at-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153, cf. B-I, 405; BS-I, 709), the well known Ithna-'ashari theologian, on the vindication of the preferential rights of 'Alī to Imamāt, and sinful innovation, *bid'a*, of those who do not follow the Shi'ite doctrine. The text of the *Ihtijāj* is here much abbreviated.

4. From the 13th *bāb* of the *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq*, i. e. the summary of the *Majālis* of Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad by Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (no. 214), beg. with the *first majlis* of the *fifth Mi'a*, the refutation of the theories of *K. al-Istirshād* by ath-Thughūrī (the work itself is apparently lost). Refutation of wrong interpretation of certain verses of the Coran found in various *tafsīrs*, and in the works of the "*ghulāt al-Ḥashwiyya*" – the Sufis.

5. From *K. at-Tanbīh* by an anonymous, but apparently Ismaili author (*li-ba'd aṣ-ṣāliḥīn*), a quotation, in reply to certain questions on the same controversial subject.

6. Extract from a *qaṣīda* by al-Ḥimyarī, also on the same subject.

Vol. V. 1. *Al-Qaṣīdat al-Mukhtāra* (or *al-Muntakhaba*, or *Urjūza*) by Qādī Nu'mān (no. 70), complete, on the rights of 'Alī and the succession of Imams, one after another, until the

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advent of the Mahdî. Sects of Islam and refutation of the erring ones.

2. Biography of 'Alî from the second and third vols. of the *'Uyûn al-Akhbâr* by Idrîs b. Ḥasan.

3. From the *Ikhtilâf Uṣûl al-Madhâhib* by Qâḍî Nu'mân (no. 73).

4. From *al-Ḥadâ'iq al-Wardîyya* by Abû 'Abd Allâh Ḥamîd b. Aḥmad (al-Maḥallî al-Yamânî), d. 652/1254, see B-I, 325), - *fî dhikr dhamm az-Zaydiyya*, a Sunnite work.

5. From *al-Ta'rîkh al-Mukhtaṣar* (?) by al-Mu'ayyad ash-Shâfi'î and others, chiefly concerned with the interpretations of different verses of the Coran as to their bearing on the doctrine of Imamat.

6. *al-Qaṣîdat al-Mîmiyya* by al-Khaṭṭâb (cf. no. 241).

Vol. VI. It is a bulky volume of over 1000 pages or more, of large size, with practically no subdivisions, each section usually merging into another without any indication.

1. *Al-Munâẓarât al-latî jarat bayn ad-dâ'i Abî 'Abd Allâh ṣâhib da'wat al-Maghrib wa bayn Abî 'Abd Allâh Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aswad b. al-Hashîm*. Strangely, in F. it appears that the dispute was going between Abû 'Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad, in other words Imam Ja'far, and ... ? The subject of the disputation were the rights of 'Alî, and his virtues.

5. From the *Nahj al-balâghat*.

6. From various Sunnite works on tradition and *tafsîr*, on the same subject.

7. From the 15th *bâb* of the *Jâmi' al-ḥaqâ'iq* (cf. no. 214).

8. From *Kitâb al-mafâkhir wa'l-ma'âthir* by Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm (cf. no. 218).

9. From *K. Sharḥ al-Mulûk* (?), *bâb* 22, the *waṣiyya* of 'Alî to Kumayl ibn Ziyâd on 'ilm and "those who are endowed with it".

10. From *al-Majlis al-Azhar fî faḍl Ṣâhib al-Kawthar* (by Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm), on Ghadîr Khum (cf. no. 223).

11. On Fâtima and her sufferings, from vol. ii of *'Uyûn al-Akhbâr*, *Majlis* 46 of *Mi'at* IV, and *Maṭâlî' al-anwâr* (a non-Ismaili work).



12. On the Imams Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, from vol. IV of *‘Uyūn al-Akhbār*.

13. *Urjūza*, by al-Mu’ayyad.

Vol. VII. 1. On adversaries (*addād*) of every *Waṣṭ*, Iblīs of every epoch, and the *a’immat ad-dalāl*, from *Jāmi‘ al-ḥaqā’iq* (see no. 224), passages from *Mi‘at* i, ii, iii, iv, v, vii. Interpretation of relevant verses from the Coran.

2. From the same: *Ithbāt wujūb al-maṣḥ ‘alā’r-rijlayn*, etc., with references to the works of Muslim and Bukhārī.

3. From *Hidāyat al-Ṭālibīn wa iqāmat al-ḥujjat fī idāḥ al-ḥaqq al-mubīn (fī jawāb al-māriqīn min ahl al-Hind)* by Idrīs b. Ḥasan (see no. 282).

4. On the orthodox’ objection to the Ismailis’ starting fast according to the calendar date, end not visibility of the new moon, from the 42nd *majlis* of the first *Mi’a* and *majlis* 20 of the second *Mi’a*, as also in the *Sīrat* of the author, al-Mu’ayyad *fī’-d-dīn*. Also from *al-Lāzima fī ṣawm shahr Ramaḍān* by Sayyid-nā Ḥamīd ad-dīn (no. 137).

5. *Fī bayān Wujūb ukhdh al-‘uhūd . . . wa’l-mawāthiq*, from the *Tanbīh al-Hādī wa’l-Mustahdī* by Ḥamīd ad-dīn, the 28th *bāb*. (no. 127).

6. *Faṣl* 17 of *al-Waḍiyya*, on the same *‘ahd* and *mithāq* (cf. no. 129).

7. Extract from the 10th *bāb* of the *Jāmi‘ al-ḥaqā’iq*, on the same subject (cf. no. 214).

8. On *ta’wīl* and *al-‘ibādat al-bāṭina*, also from the *Tanbīh al-Hādī wa’l-Mustahdī* and *al-Waḍiyya* of Ḥamīd ad-dīn.

9. From the *Mi‘at*, II, *majlis* 28–30; III, 8, 3; V, 67, 85, 98; III, 24; VI, 27–29; VIII, 61, and from other places of the same work, on the same subject.

10. From the *Asās at-Ta’wīl* by Qāḍī Nu‘mān.

11. From the end of the *Mukhtaṣar al-uṣūl* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, on similar matters (see no. 251).

12. From *al-Idāḥ wa’l-bayān* by al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (cf. no. 255).

13. *Ithbāt at-Ta’wīl* from the *R. al-Kāfiya* by Sayyid-nā Ḥamīd ad-dīn al-Kirmānī (no. 143).



14. From *K. al-Ifṭikhār* (by Abū Ya'qūb Sijzī), *bāb* 22 *fī ma'rifat ukhdh al-ta'wīl min al-Qur'ān*. (cf. no. 36).

15. From the same, *bāb* 13, on *wuḍū'* and *ṭahārat*; *bāb* 14 on *ṣalāt*; *bāb* 15 on *zakāt*; *bāb* 16 on *ṣawm*, etc.

16. On the opinions of those orthodox theologians who in their *tafsīrs* recognised the legitimacy of *ta'wīl*.

17. On what is said in the *tafsīr* called *Shifā' as-ṣudūr* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan an-Naqqāsh (al-Mawṣilī, d. 351/962, see B-I, 521; BS-I, 334). Also the ideas of al-Baghawī al-Farrā' (al-Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd al-Baghawī, d. 510 or 516/1116-1120, see B-I, 363; BS-I, 620, his main work *Maṣābiḥ as-Sunnat* is apparently intended here).

18. *Qaṣīda* by an anonymous author.

Yūsuf Najm ad-Dīn b. Sulaymān, the 24-th *dā'i*, d. 16 Dh.H. 974/24-6-1567.

(293) *Majma' al-fiqh* (?)

(294) *Risāla*, appended to *al-Mūqīza min nawm al-ghaṣṣat*, see no. 267.

ʿAbd Allāh al-Ma'dhūn, flourished in the middle of the tenth/sixteenth c.

(295) *ar-Rayḥān al-Badī' fī shavḥ zahrat rawḍat ar-rabī'* (was lithographed).

Sham'ūn b. Muḥammad al-Ghūrī (?), flourished towards the end of the tenth/sixteenth c.

(296) *as-Su'āl wa'l-Jawāb*, also called *al-Masā'il ash-Sham'ūniyya*.

(297) *al-Istirshād*, on rel. controversy.

Sayyid-i Amīn-jī b. Jalāl, an eminent Bohora jurist, d. at Aḥmadābād the 13th Shawwāl 1010/6-4-1602.



(298) *Hisâb al-mawârith*, tables of shares in inheritance to be divided between the relatives of the deceased.

(299) *as-Su'âl wa'l-jawâb fi'l-fiqh*, also called *Masâ'il Amîn-jî b. Jalâl*, a collection of legal decisions.

(300) *al-Hawâshî*, an illustrative collection of legal cases and decisions by different authorities, a kind of a commentary on certain sections of the *Da'â'imû'l-Islâm*, in two vols. It is not clear whether this is the same work as the preceding one.

(301) *al-Muntakhaba al-manẓûma*, a versified summary of some theories of *fiqh*.

Khawj b. Malik of Kapadwanj, flourished in the beginning of the xi/xvii c., and died shortly before 1021/1612.

(302) *Badhr al-bidâyat*, vindication of the succession of the 27-th *dâ'i* of the Dawudis, which was much disputed. It is apparently the same work as the one known as *Ithbât al-khaṣâ'il ithnayn wa thalâthîn li-Sayyidi-nâ Dâwûd*.

(303) *Sitt rasâ'il*, or *Majmû' ar-Rasâ'il as-sitt*, a collection of six short notes on the history of the Ismaili community in India, based on legend, and the split between the Dawudis and Sulaymanis. The collection, about 275 pages long, is composed of: *Surûr al-Awliyâ'*, on the exit of Dâwûd b. 'Ajab Shâh from Ahmadâbâd to Kapadwanj in 991/1583. 2. *Badhr al-Mahabbat wa'sh-Shifâ'*, on his marrying his son in 995/1587, and other similarly important events. 3. *Hadîqat an-ni'am*, on his shifting to Cambay, the next year. 4. *Badhr al-bidâyat* (the same as no. 302?), on his shifting (again) to Kapadwanj in 998/1590. 5. *Hadîqat al-jinân*, on his imprisonment in Ahmadabad in 1002/1593. 6. *Khaṣâ'il Dâwûd b. Quṭb Shâh*. These six *risâlas* are summed up and amplified in a work, subdivided into four *bâbs*, by an anonymous author, each *bâb* subdivided into several *faṣls*: 1. history of Ismailism in India; 2. biography of Dâwûd b. 'Ajab Shâh; 3. biography of Dâwûd b. Quṭb Shâh; 4. geography of localities inhabited by the Ismailis, on noteworthy graves, names of Ismaili dignitaries, and biography of the author of the original six *Risâlas*, Khawj b.



Malik. Several appendices at the end, chiefly extracts from different histories of Gujrat.

Hasan b. Idrīs b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Idrīs b. Ḥasan, d. about 1021/1612.

(304) *az-Zawāhir al-bahīyya wa’l-bawāhir ash-shahīyya fī’l-ma’āthir al-munāfiyya wa’l-mafākhir al-anafiyya*. A history of Ismailism in the Yaman under the Imams and the *dā’īs*, up to the beginning of the eleventh/seventeenth century.

(305) *al-Kutub wa’r-Rasā’il li-du‘āt al-Yaman*, a collection of correspondence of the Yamanite *dā’īs*.

(306) *al-Mufrida*, a scurrilous refutation of a Sulaymani treatise by Muḥammad b. al-Fahd.

(307) *Dīwān* of poetry.

Ādam Ṣafīyyu’d-dīn b. Ṭayyib Shāh, the 28-th Dawudi *dā’ī*, d. the 7-th Rajab, 1030/28-5-1621.

(308) *R. fī kayfiyyat ibtidā’ da‘wat al-hādiya fī jazīrat al-Hind*. A history of the Ismaili community in India since the time of the Imam al-Mustanṣir bi’l-lāh, when *dā’ī* ‘Abd Allāh came to Khanbayat (Cambay) by order of Lamak b. Malik, and converted Raja Sidrāj Singh. Events in Ahmadabad, heresy of Ja‘far, etc. This work is well-known in a Gujrati version, under the title of *Balī Medū*.

(309) *Nibrās at-Ṭurūs fī ma‘rifat an-nufūs*, a collection of short articles and extracts on *naḥs*, Imāmat, etc.

‘Abd at-Ṭayyib Zakī ad-Dīn b. Dāwūd b. Quṭb Shāh, the 29-th Dawudi *dā’ī*, d. 2nd Rab. I, 1041/28-9-1631.

(310) *R. al-Abā’ wa’l-Ummahāt*, on the rights of parents over their children.



‘*Abd al-Qâdir Ḥakīm ad-dīn b. Mullâ Khân b. Ḥabīb Allāh*
the brother or the 39-th *dā‘ī* who died in 1142/1730.

(311) *al-Urjûza fî bayân mâ fî sunnat min sunan aṣ-ṣalât*, a
versified treatise on the elements of religious worship.

(312) *Dîwân* or poetry.

(313) *Kalîla wa Dimna*, on the subject obviously suggested
by the *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ* but developed into a discussion of: *tawḥîd*,
ṣûrat al-arḍ, *aqâlîm*, *ṣifât al-‘uqûl as-sab‘a*, etc. This work is also
known by the name of *K. al-Burhân*.

(314) *Bulûḥar wa Budhâṣaf*, another inspiration from the
same source.

(315) *at-Tadhkirât fî l-Mawâ‘iz wa n-Naṣîḥât*, in 65 *faṣls*, a
collection of instructive stories, originally written by a non-Ismaili
author, but adopted to Ismaili ideas by Ḥakīm ad-dīn.

Ḥasan b. Dâwûd, apparently an author of the twelfth/seven-
teenth century.

(316) *Dîwân* of poetry, collected and edited by ‘*Abd al-*
Kalîm b. Ismâ‘îl, about the middle of that century.

(317) *al-Urjûza fî asmâ’ ad-du‘ât*.

Âdam b. ‘Abd al-Ṭayyib (the latter died in 1110/1699).

(318) *al-Kalîmiyya*, an epistle sent by him from Udaipur to
the 36-th Dawudi *dā‘ī* Kalîm ad-dīn Mûsâ (d. 22 Rab. II, 1122/
30-6-1710).

Ḥasan b. Mullâ Shams Khân (the middle of xii/xviii c.)

(319) *at-Tadhkira*, the story of the martyrdom of Quṭb ad-
dīn (or Quṭb-Khân) b. Dâwûd, the 32nd Dawudi *dā‘ī*, executed
at Ahmadabad the 27 Jum. II 1056/10-8-1616, also of Fîr (i. e.
Pîr) Khân, Isma‘îl b. Mullâ Râj, and others.



Mullā Hibat Allāh b. Walī Muḥammad, flourished probably about the same period.

(320) *Tadhkira*, on the same subject, as the preceding work (the date of composition is not certain).

Ibrāhīm Wajīh ad-dīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir, the 39th *dāʿī*, d. 17 Muḥarram 1168/3-9-1754.

(321) *al-Kutub waʿr-Rasāʾil*, a collection of epistles addressed to Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Wazīr al-Ḥarāzī, Ādam b. Nūr ad-dīn, and others.

(322) *al-Kurāsāt al-Wajīhiyya*, a treatise on ethics.

An anonymous Dawūdī author. The work is mentioned in F.

(323) *al-Jawhar ath-thamīn fī taʾwīl sūrat Yā-Sīn*, composed in 1156/1743.

Luqmān Wajīh ad-dīn b. Ḥabīb Allāh, d. 8 Jum. II 1173/27-1-1760, a prolific author contemporary with the author of F.

(324) *ʿIbrat fī ṭāʿat ad-dāʿī al-mukhlṭ*, a condemnation of those who do not accept the belief in the infallibility (*ʿiṣmat*) of the *dāʿī l-muṭlaq*. Completed in Dolkha on the 28th of Muḥarram 1157/13-3-1744.

(325) *Risālat Aflātūn*, on ethics, in eight *faṣls*.

(326) *R. fī muqābalat mā atā fī ṣ-Ṣaghīrat al-jadīdal*, on the supposed *naṣṣ* of the 28th *dāʿī* to the 29th.

(327) *al-Mawāʿiẓ fī adāʾ az-zakāt*.

(328) *al-Majmūʿ al-Wajīh fī adāʾ az-zakāt* (the same as the preceding work?), divided into seven *risālas*: 1. *al-Mawāʿiẓa*; 2. letter to Raḥīm Bhāi b. Qāsim-jī; 3. letter to Jiwā b. Rāj; 4. to Mālik b. Dūsī; 5. to Miyān Bhāi-jī; 6. *R. ukhdh al-ḥaqq wa tark dīddi-hi*; 7. *R. fī z-zakāt*.



(329) *ar-R. al-Wajihīyya fī tartīb ad-dīn wa tabyīn farq shahr Ramaḍān*, etc.

(330) *al-Mukhtaṣarat al-wajihīyya*, on the *naṣṣ* to 'Alī at Ghadīr Khum. It has an appendix:

(331) *al-Mukhtaṣar al-Badrī*.

(332) *al-Mukhtaṣarat al-Wajihīyya fī l-lā'at wa'l-qabūl li'l-amr wa'n-nahy 'alā kull ḥāl*, etc., based on the *Majālis* of Abū'l-Barakāt (see no. 185).

(333) *Sīrat 'Abd al-Qādir b. Mullā Khān*.

(334) *Sīrat ad-du'āt al-masnūna* (was translated into Gujrati, and printed).

(335) *K. ash-Sharīf fī mabāḥith al-firqat as-Sulaymāniyya*.

(336) *al-Hujaj al-muḍīḥāt 'alā'l-Hujūmiyya*.

(337) *R. fī'r radd 'alā'l-Hujūmiyya*, completed the 28th Ram. 1157/4-11-1744. The same as the preceding work? Not in F.

Shaykh Quṭb (ad-dīn) Bhā'ī Burhānpūrī, flourished apparently in the second half of the xii/xviii c.

(338) *Muntaza' al-akhbār fī akhbār ad-du'āt al-akhyār*, in two volumes, the first dealing with the history of Ismailism from the beginning to the assassination of al-Āmir, and the second with the Yamanite and the Indian periods. It is a very useful summary of the substance of the different works of Idrīs b. Ḥasan, see above nos. 270, 271.

Shaykh Isma'īl b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl b. Meṭha Khān b. Ḥabīb b. Yūsuf b. Shāh-Malik b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad b. Badanjī b. Dūsā b. Tarachand, a descendant of Lar Shāh. He died in 1183 or 1184/1769-1770, in Ujjain.

(339) *Fihrist al-Majdū'*, or, to give it its full title, *al-Majmū' fī fihrist al-kutub*. It was composed before 1173/1760, because Luq-mān b. Ḥabīb Allāh (cf. note 324) is referred to in terms implying



that he is still living. For details of its arrangement and contents see the Introduction, chapter 3. Other works:

(340) *ar-Raḍiyya fī bayān ar-ru'yā' al-Wajīhiyya*, yet another biography of the 39-th *dā'i* (cf. no. 321) and his son.

(341) *R. fī sirat Luqmān b. Ḥabīb Allāh* (cf. no. 324).

(342) *al-Mu'ayyida fī muṭābaqat al-umūr 'alā sh-sharī'at wa radd mā (man?) lam ya'lam dhalik 'alā Ṣāhib ad-da'wat ar-rāfi'a*, condemning those who deny the necessity of outward piety and devotion.

(343) *al-Wajīhiyya fī sirat al-Kalīmiyya*, a biography of the 36-th *dā'i*.

A number of works of the author of F., probably composed after the completion of his *Fihrist*, are still found in private collections, especially in his native town, Ujjain. I am adding here those the existence of which I could ascertain. Some of these mss. may be autograph copies.

(344) *R. (or K.) al-Iṣlāḥ*.

(345) *al-Jawāhir ath-thamīna (?)*

(346) *Kashf wujūh al-ma'ād*.

(347) *al-Majmū' al-Mufīd*, a collection of notes on *ḥaqā'iq*, and generally esoteric matters, in the handwriting of the author. Perhaps the same work as the *Majmū' fī'l-Fawā'id* (in another collection).

(348) *al-Masā'il*, a collection of notes.

(349) *al-Muntakhab fī'l-Fiqh*.

(349-A) *Zubdatu's-siyar wa'l-Ādāb*. A voluminous compilation by a Bohora author whose name is not mentioned at the beginning, and, as the copy is incomplete, does not appear at the end. As stated in the *muqaddima*, the work was compiled during the *dā'i*-ship of the 43rd Bohora *dā'i*, 'Abd 'Alī Sayfu'd-dīn, d. 1232/1817, to whom longevity is invoked. The work is divided into seven *bābs*: on prayers, *zakāt*, *riwāyāt wa ḥikāyāt*, respect to parents and rules of behaviour for women, 5. *fī'l-ādāb wa's-siyar*; 6. instructive stories from the (apocryphal) sermons of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,



etc. 7. *ikhtilâf al-madhâhib*. The last two chapters are missing in the copy which was examined. The word *siyar* in this compilation is used in the sense of pious lives, not in the sense of "biographies".

The compiler simply copied passages from the well-known early works which, fortunately, he names in the text. It is difficult to say whether the book was completed by him. It breaks in the fifth chapter, and this is already 434 large pages.

Sharaf 'Alî Sidhpûrî, flourished in the second half of xiii/xix c.

(350) *Riyâd al-jinân* (was lithogr. in Bombay).

(351) *'Uyûn al-ma'ârif*, on controversial religious questions. Lithogr. in Bombay in 1297/1880, but later was proscribed by the Government.

'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrâhîm as-Sayfî, second half of the xiii/xix c.

(352) *Dîwân* of poetry.

(353) *Lubb al-lubâb*.

(354) *Tuhfat al-Ikhwân*, a commentary on four *risâlas* from the *Ikhwân aş-Şafâ*.

Muḥammad 'Alî Hamadânî, end xiii/xix c.

(355) *R. al-hijrat*, on a futile attempt to find the hidden Imam.

Ja'far-jî Najmî, beg. xiv/xx c.

(358) *Riyâd ash-shuhadâ'*, a popular work on lives of the Imams, was lithographed in 1303/1886.

(360) *Ka'bat al-mafâkhir*, lithogr. in Bombay in 1307/1889.

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Muhammad-‘Ali, d. in 1315 or 1316/1897-9.

(361) *Mawsim-i bahâr*, in three vols., in Gujrati with much admixture of Arabic. The third vol. was completed first, in 1299/1882, and was soon lithographed. It deals with the history of the Yamanite and Indian *dâ'is*. The first and second vols. followed soon. The first vol. was again lithogr. in 1301/1884, and the first and second – again about 1311/1893. When sold out, the first two vols. were reprinted, but another edition was prohibited by the priestly clique.

Appendix I.

Works the date of which cannot be ascertained:

Dâ'i 'Abd at-Tayyib. As there were three *dâ'is* who had that name, in the eleventh/seventeenth c., it would be difficult to ascertain the date of the work without its study.

(362) *R. ilâ'l-mu'minîn min ahl Dungarhpur*.

Ibrâhîm al-Hindî (?)

(363) *R. fî ta'wîl ahâdîth an-Nabî*, divided into 30 *majlises*, of which only eight are preserved.

Appendix II.

Works of which neither the Authors nor the Dates of Composition are known.

(Arranged in alphabetical order of Titles).

(366) *al-Âdâb ad-diniyya*, div. into 14 *faṣls*. Cf. no. 381.

(367) *al-Adwâr wa'l-Akwâr*, an early work? F. - not seen.

(368) *'Ahd al-awliyâ'*, the formula of *mithâq*, different for men and women. There is also an Urdu version of this.



(369) *al-Amn min al-hayrat*, an elementary treatise on worship, divided into 23 *bābs*.

(370) *al-Ashbāḥ wa'l-Aẓilla* ("min ba'd min al-ḥudūd al-bula-ghā"), a work, definitely belonging to the Yamanite period, of gnostic contents (mentions seven Adams, seven Iblises, etc.)

(371) *R. al-Ayyām*.

(372) *al-Baḥṭh fī'l-ḥaqā'iq fī dhikr al-'all wa'l-'illa wa'l-ma'lūl*.

(373) *al-Balāgh al-kabīr* (or *Akbar*?), apparently an ancient work, mentioned by different old authors (e. g. Ḥamīdu'd-dīn and Nāṣir-i Khusraw), although most probably not belonging to the Isma'īlī literature. It was also called *R. an-Nūrāniyya* (?)

(374) *K. adh-Dhāt wa's-ṣūrat*, quoted in *Azhār*, i.

(375) *Ḍiyā' al-abṣār wa jalā' al-qfākār*.

(376) *Ghāyat al-laḏā'if wa'l-kathā'if*, by some ascribed to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, by others to Dhu'ayb.

(377) *Ḥadīth ijtīmā' al-ithnā 'ashar bāban li-bāb Mawlā-nā al-'Azīz*, cited in MT. (cf. p. 57).

(378) *Ilṭihāb nitrān al-aḥzān wa muthīr al-ashjān*, biographies of saints.

(379) *'Ishrūn mā'ida fī'l-ḥaqā'iq*, 20 answers to questions on spiritual matters, and 179 *mas'alas*.

(380) *'Ishrūn masā'il ta'wiliyya*.

(381) *Kalām fī'l-ādāb*, cf. no. 366.

(382) *Kayfiyyat at-ṭalab li-man arād talkhīṣ min ḥabā'il ash-Shayṭān*.

(383) *Kitāb as-sā'at*.

(384) *al-Lā'iḥa* (fī bayān al-'ālam wa anna kulla-hā majbūr ba'-qu-hā taḥt ba'd), cited in MT. (cf. p. 59).

(385) *R. al-Ma'ād wa't-tawḥīd*. F - not seen.

(386) *al-Ma'ārif al-'aqliyya*. F - not seen.

(387) *al-Mabāḥiṭh at-tis'a 'ani'l-'ālam*, cited in MT. (cf. p. 55).

(388) *Madkhal at-ta'wīl*, cited in *Azhār* i.



(388A) *Maḥajjat al-irshād wa mûḍiḥat li-sabīl an-naǧāt min ʿālam al-kawn waʿl-fisād*, mentioned in MT ii.

(389) *Majālis al-Abrār*.

(390) *al-Majlis fi-hi muzhat liʿl-ʿuqûl waʿn-nufûs*.

(391) *Majmûʿ al-ḥaqāʾiq* (*mutawassīṭ baynaʿt-talwīḥ waʿt-taṣrīḥ, fi aqāwīl ad-duʿāt al-kibār Ǧaʿfar b. Mansûr al-Yaman, wa Ḥamīd ad-dīn, wa al-Muʿayyad wa ghayri-him*), divided into seven *bābs*: 1. *tawḥīd*; 2. *ibdāʿ*; 3. *inbiʿāth*; 4. *nafs*; 5. *uṣûl ad-dīn*; 6. *maʿād*; 7. *ʿiqāb*.

(392) *Majmûʿ al-masāʾil fiʿl-ḥaqāʾiq*, in thirteen *masʾalas*: 1. *al-ʿālam ar-rûḥanī*; 2. *nāsūt al-Imām*; 3. *naqlat al-Imām*; 4. *Ādam at-kullī ṣāḥib al-juththāt al-ibdāʾiyya*; 5. *ahl dawr al-kashf kayf ajsāmu-hum*; 6. *aṣ-ṣûrat al-abaliyya*; 7. *ʿadhāb*; 8. *al-kawr al-aʿzam*; 9. *mā yukhallīf al-kawākib*; 10. *al-miswagāt*; 11. *al-Ǧinn al-ladhī qatala-hum Amīr al-muʿminīn*; 12. *ʿan Mawlā-nû Ismāʿīl b. Ǧaʿfar waʿl-mawl al-ladhī azhara-hu thumm shuhid ḥayyan baʿd dhālik biʿl-Baṣra*; 13. *kitāb al-fijār*.

(393) *al-Majmûʿ ash-sharīf fiʿl-ḥaqāʾiq*.

(394) *Mansakh al-hajj*.

(395) *al-Marâtib al-muḥīṭ bi-ashraf al-madhāhib*, divided into twelve *martabas*, and dealing with the basic religious beliefs such as *tawḥīd*, *ibdāʿ*, *nafs*, *taʿwīl*, etc.

(396) *Maʿrifat ar-rûḥ wa naṣṣ Abī Ṭālib ʿalāʿn-Nabī*.

(397) *al-Maṣābiḥ az-zāhira*, mentioned in *Azhār*, i.

(398) *Masāʾil mashāʾikh al-Hind min duʿāt al-Yaman* (the same as *al-Ḥawāshīʿ*?)

(399) *Masāʾil mustajīb al-ʿabd aṣ-ṣāliḥ*, mentioned in MT.

(400) *Mûḍiḥat at-talbīs wa dāḥiḍat at-tadlīs*.

(402) *al-Mukhtaṣara fi taḥqīq iʿtiqād al-Ismāʿīliyya*, divided into twelve *faṣls*. Proofs of the correctness of the Ismaili doctrine collected from the standard theological works of the Sunnites and the Shiʿites.

(403) *al-Mukhtaṣarat az-zāhira fi taʿkīd aʿmāl ash-sharīʿat az-zāhira*.



- (404) *an-Nûrâniyya*, see *al-Balâgh al-kabîr*, no. 373.
- (405) *K. an-Nuṣṣ fî i'tiqâd al-khuṣṣ fî'n-nafs al-insâniyya*.
- (406) *al-Qawl fî'r-Risâlat wa'l-Imâmat*.
- (407) *Qiṣṣat al-arnab*.
- (408) *Qiṣṣat Ismâ'îl*.
- (409) *Qiṣṣat khabar at-Tirimmâh*.
- (410) *Qiṣṣat Ismâ'îl b. Ibrâhîm*, in verse, ab. 450 bayts.
- (411) *Qiṣṣat al-Mukhtâr*.
- (412) *Qiṣṣat ru'yat ad-dâ'i 'Alî aṣ-Ṣulayhî* (who d. in 473/1080).
- (413) *Qiṣṣat Tamîm b. Ḥabîb ad-Dârî*.
- (414) *Qiṣṣat at-Tayyib*.
- (415) *Shahâdat ash-shâhidîn ... yamîlûn ilâ ... ṣiḥḥat 'âlam ad-dîn wa muqâbalati-hi bi-mâ fî-hâ*.
- (416) *Sharḥ al-mulûk*, in *Azhâr* iv.
- (417) *Sharḥ Simṭ al-ḥaqâ'iq*, cf. no. 253.
- (418) *K. ash-Shaykh wa'sh-Shabb fî dhikr mâ jarâ bayna-hum fî tarîqi-himâ*, apparently an early work.
- (419) *at-Tahdhîr wa't-tandhîr*, apparently an early work on controversy.
- (420) *K. at-Tanbîh*, an early work, extracts in *Azhâr* iv.
- (421) *Taqâwîm al-aḥkâm ash-shar'îyya*.
- (422) *R. at-Tawḥîd*.
- (423) *K. at-Tawḥîd fî sharḥ Khuṭbat Amîr al-mu'minîn*.
- (424) *K. at-Tawḥîd wa'l-ḥaqâ'iq*.
- (425) *Ta'wîl alif-bâ'*.
- (426) *Ta'wîl amthâl al-Qur'ân*. F. - not seen.
- (427) *Ta'wîl al-Qur'ân*, twenty mas'âlas on *ḥaqâ'iq*.
- (428) *Ta'yîn makân mawlâ-nâ at-Tayyib ba'd al-istitâr*. *Azhâr*, iii.
- (429) *Thawâqib al-budûr al-mutasha'sha'a min ash-shumûs*.
- (430) *Tuḥfat al-mustarshidîn*.
- (431) *Ummahât al-Islâm*. *Azhâr* i.
- (432) *R. al-Waḍiyya fî ma'rifat al-awṣiyâ'*. *Azhâr* i.



(433) *R. al-Waḍiyya fī wujūb al-bayʿat wa ukhdh al-mithāq.*
Azhār i.

(434) *R. al-Wāʿiẓa fī-mā baynaʿl-atimmāʿ, etc.*

(435) *R. al-Wajhiyya fī bayān istidāʾ Mawlā-nā Ḥusayn li-akhī-hi*
Muḥammad ibnīʿl-Ḥanafīyya wa amri-hi la-hu.

(436) *Waṣiyyat al-Khāliq liʿl-makhlūq.*

(437) *R. az-Zāhira fī jawāb al-Masāʾil.*

Appendix III.

Works by non-Ismaili Authors used and quoted by the Ismailis.

(438) *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār fīʿl-ḥikma*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad (or Aḥmad) b. ʿAlī b. al-Waḥshiyya an-Nabaṭī, d. at the end of the third/ninth c., cf. Brock. I, 243. Included in *Azhār vi.*

(439) *Nahj al-Balāgha*, sermons of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, collected by as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, d. 436/1044, cf. Brock. I, 404, BS-I, 704.

(440) *al-Ghurar waʿd-durar fī akālim Amīr al-muʾminīn*, by the same as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf, cf. Brock. I, 404; BS-I, 704.

(441) *Ghurar al-ḥikam wa durar al-kalim*, another collection of the sayings of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Āmidī at-Tamīmī, d. about 510/1116, cf. Brock. I, 44, “*inkāran ʿalāʿl-laʿin Abī ʿUthmān al-Jāhiz*”.

(442) *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya fī dhikr dhamm az-Zaydiyya*, by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī al-Yamanī, d. 652/1254, cf. Brock. I, 325. Quoted in *Azhār v.*

(443) *Qaṣīdat fī dhamm as-samāʿ wa ahli-hi*, by Ismāʿīl b. Abī Bakr al-Yamanī, d. 837/1433, cf. Brock. II, 190. Quoted in *Azhār iii.*

Appendix IV. Apocrypha.

There are also other works ascribed to Mawlā-nā ʿAlī, undoubtedly apocryphal, recognised by the Ismailis as belonging to their literature, such as:



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(444) *Dīwān* of poetry.

(445) *Akālīm Mawlā-nā ‘Alī*, his sermons (also called *Khuṭab*).

(446) *Waṣīyyat*, moral admonitions uttered by him on his deathbed, included in the second volume of the *Da‘ā’im al-Islām*. Cf. also A.A.A. Fyzee, “Ismaili law of wills”, 1933.

(447) *Waṣīyyat*, moral bequeath, said to be given by him to Imam Ḥasan on the eve of the battle of Ṣiffīn (*Azhār*, vi).

Several opuscles are ascribed to al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar al-Ju‘fī, an associate of Imam Ja‘far, also probably quite apocryphal.

(448) *Riwāyat al-Aruzz*, see MT ii. Cf. no. 205 (36). Several other opuscles are obviously not genuine.

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IV. THE LITERATURE OF THE SULAYMANIS.

The Sulaymani branch of the Musta'lian Ismailis is *not* a separate *sect* of the Musta'lian community, differing in either essential dogmas, or even the smallest details of belief or worship. The only point of difference from the Dawudis is that the Sulaymanis recognise a sequence of *dā'īs*, after the twenty sixth in succession, different from those of the Dawudis. Intrigue and fraud at succession which opens access to the communal treasury, were an endemic feature of the organisation, as it still remains to this day. In the case of the Dawudi-Sulaymani split the matters were brought to a head by external causes. The twenty-seventh *dā'ī*, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, lived in the Yaman, which was the metropolis, and did not want to go to the colony, India, which economically attained far greater importance than the old home of the sect. This offered an opportunity to the party of the Indian candidate, Dāwūd b. Quṭb-Shāh, to retain the authority, thus creating a split. The Dawudis at present greatly outnumber the Sulaymanis, but they recognise the same literature (produced before the split) as do the Sulaymanis, while rejecting what was written after the parting of the ways. An exception is made by them only for a single work of Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, namely:

(449) *an-Nukhabu'l-mulṭaqata wa'z-zubad al-ma'khûdha 'an awliyâ' Allâh*, in two vols. It is divided into seven *bābs*, and deals with occultistic interpretation of Ismaili theosophy: 1. on *tawhîd*; 2. on *ibdâ'* and *inbi'âth*; 3. *'âlam al-aflâk*; 4. *al-mawâlîd*; 5. *al-'âlam al-basharî*; 6. *ad-dawr at-Ṭayyibî*.

Other works by Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan (d. 25 Ramaḍân 1005/12-5-1597) are not accepted. Their list is here reproduced without alterations from the first edition of this book, because no amount of effort could overcome the obstinacy of the Sulaymānî mullas not only to lend a full list, but even to revise and supplement that which has already been printed.

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On the whole, this is no great loss because, as one may



devoted to the nauseatic quarreling with the Dawudis, who, in their turn, have reciprocated the attacks in no less attractive spirit.

(450) *al-Abjadiyya dhātu'l-asrâri'l-Aḥmadiyya.*

(451) *al-ʿAdadu'd-dâ'ir (?)*.

(452) *al-Anwâr fî idâhi'l-asrâr.*

(453) *al-Bayân li-ḥaqâ'iqi'l-ʿadl wa'l-iḥsân.*

(454) *al-Bayân wa'n-naṣîḥat wa'l-mawâ'iz.*

(455) *ad-Da'wat li'l-khâṣṣat wa'l-ʿāmmat wa li-indhâr bi-yawmi's-ṣaḥḥat wa't-tāmmat.*

(456) *Dîwân.*

(457) *Dukhûl shuhûr sanat bi-ayyâmi'l-usbûʿ.*

(458) *Fatḥu'l-akmâm wa'z-zuhûr fî shay' min asrâri'l-ayyâmi's-sab-ʿat al-latî ʿalay-hâ mabnâ'd-duhûr.*

(459) *Funûnu'l-ma'ârif wa ʿuyûnu'l-laṭâ'if.*

(460) *al-Ḥikmatu'l-bâḥira fî n-nishâ'ati'l-ûlâ wa'n-nishâ'ati'l-âkhira.*

(461) *al-Idâḥ wa'l-bayân fî . . . iqâmati'l-ḥujaj ilâ kâfati'l-ikhwân.*

(462) *al-Idâḥ wa't-tarîf fî kull ma'nâ fâḍil sharîf.*

(463) *al-I'dhâr wa't-ta'rîf wa'l-irshâd wa'l-indhâr wa't-takhwîf bi-azwâq yawmi't-tanâd.*

(464) *ʿIdḥâdu't-talbîs aṣ-ṣâdir ʿan Ḥasan b. Idrîs.*

(465) *Iqdu'l-jawâhiri'n-nafsâniyya wa simṭu'd-durari'r-rûḥâniyya.*

(466) *Ishâratu'l-ʿadadi'l-hâdiya ilâ n-nahji'l-asadd.*

(467) *Ma'dharatu'l-muta'âsî wa tadḥkiratu'l-muqtadi'l-mutanâsî wa kitâb sharîf baligh ilâ Dâwûd b. Quṭb fî'l-ḥujjat.*

(468) *Majâlisu'l-ḥikma wa'l-bayân wa izhâr ta'wîl khawâṣṣi'l-ʿadad bi'l-ḥujjat wa'l-burhân.*

(469) *Mukhtaṣar Zubdi'l-ʿulûmi'l-mulqîḥa li'l-adhhân wa'l-ḥulûm.*

(470) *al-Mukhtaṣara fî'l-wa'z wa't-tadhkira.*

(471) *al-Mukhtaṣara li-ibdâ'i'l-ma'dhara.*

(472) *Mukhtaṣara . . . ʿalâ sabîli'l-wa'z wa't-tanbîḥ wa't-tadhkira.*



(473) *R. al-Munabbihā'alā itbā' sabīli'l-wāḍiḥ bi'd-dalā'il wa'l-mathālāt wa'l-barāhīni'l-lawā'iḥ.*

(474) *R. al-Mukhtaṣaratu'l-Munsha'a li'l-ikhwān 'alā sabīli't-tadhkira.*

(475) *R. al-Munsha'a li'l-ikhwān . . . fi'l-ḥazẓ 'alā'l-qiyām bi-sharā'iḥi'l-Islām.*

(476) *Muntahā'l-ghāyāt fi ma'rifat mamthūli'l-āyāt.*

(477) *Mushayyidat arkāni'd-dīn fi la'yīn marātibi'l-ḥudūd wa'l-mahdūdīn.*

(478) *R. Naẓmu'l-'adadi'l-fard.*

(479) *R. Naẓmu'l-'adadi'z-zawj.*

(480) *Nubdhat fi istikhraj ḥurūfi'l-Fātiḥa.*

(481) *Nubdhat fi muqābalat ḥurūf Ibrāhīm li'l-'adadi't-tāmm wa'l-'adadi'l-kāmil.*

(482) *K. an-Nukhabī'l-mutaqaṭa wa'z-zubadi'l-mustanbaṭa*, apparently the same work as No. 449, where the title is given in a slightly different form.

(483) *R. ash-Shāfiya fi dhawāti'l-mawā'izi'l-kāfiya*

(484) *K. ash-Sharḥ*, a collection of letters on *nafs*.

(485) *Shifā'u'ṣ-ṣudūr nukāt mina'l-kitābi'l-mastūr.*

(486) *R. ash-Shukr li'l-Mun'imī'l-Wahhāb 'alā mā fataḥ min jaz'li'n-na'im wa Huwa'r-Rahīmū't-Tawwāb.*

(487) *R. as-Su'āl wa'l-ikhtibār wa'z-zajr li'l-mudda'i 'an fi'li-hi'dh-dhamīm wa'l-istikbār.*

(488) *Tuhfatu'l-arwāḥ wa farjatu'n-nufūsi'l-mulakhkhaṣa min 'il-may al-ma'qūl wa'l-mahsūs.*

(489) *R. Yanbū'u'l-farā'id wa majmū'u'l-qaṣā'id.*

Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, the son of the preceding *dā'i*, and himself the 28th *dā'i* of the Sulaymanis, d. the 29th Rab. ii, 1050/18 - viii - 1640. The present list of his works, alphabetically arranged, gives those of them only which were



composed by the author before 1029/1620, i. e. the date of the composition of the *Munîra*, by Muḥammad b. al-Fahd, from which it is taken.

- (490) *Bayānu'l-arfa 'u'l-asmā al-ma'dūd bi'd-dalā'il-l-'uzmā.*
- (491) *Dīwān*, several parts have special titles.
- (492) *al-Hādiya ilā n-nahjī'l-qawīm al-mu'addiya ilā Jannāti n-na'im.*
- (493) *al-Hāṣiba li'l-firqati'l-kādhība fi nafyi-hā kawṇ Sayyidi-nā Sulaymān b. Ḥasan min ḥudūd Sayyidi-nā Dāwūd b. 'Ajab a 'lā'l-lāh qudsay-himā qāṭiba.*
- (494) *Ḥayāt arwāḥ ahli'l-īmān fi tafsīr alfāz naṣṣ Sayyidi-nā Dāwūd b. 'Ajab ilā Sayyidi-nā Sulaymān.*
- (495) *Jāmi'atu'l-farā'idī'l-ḥasana fi ta'wīl-tartībī's-sana.*
- (496) *Jāmi'atu'sh-shaml wa'n-naql wa rāḥatu'n-nafs wa'l-'aql.*
- (497) *Majma'u'l-barāḥīni'l-munbatha wa maqma' ash-Shayāṭīni'l-mukhbitha.*
- (498) *al-Majālisu'l-ashrafiyya as-Sulaymāniyya fi idāḥi'l-minḥāj wa'l-wa'z wa'l-iḥtijāj.*
- (499) *al-Maqāmi'u'l-qāmi'a dhātu'l-barāḥīni'l-lāmi'a.*
- (500) *al-Mubṣira mina'l-'amā wa'l-mubṭila li-da'wati'l-a'wari'l-a'mā.*
- (501) *Mudhhibatu'z-zubad wa muthbitatu'z-zabad.*
- (502) *al-Munjiya min gharqi'n-nufūs wa'l-muhlīka li-man khālaf aqwāl ṣāḥibi'n-nāmūs.*
- (503) *Qāsimatu'z-zahr wa bāsimatu'th-thighr fi jawāb 'alā mā qīl fi ṣalāt laylati'l-Qadr.*
- (504) *Rawḍatu'l-akḥbār*, in four *juz's*: 1. *anbiyā*; 2. Muḥammad; 3. 'Alī; 4. Imams.
- (505) *ar-Riḥlu'l-'āṣif wa'z-za'za 'al-qāṣif.*
- (506) *ash-Shuhubu'l-muḥriqa li-kull mufnid kafūr wa's-suḥubu'l-mundafi 'a li-ḥayāti'l-jumhūr.*
- (507) *as-Sihāmu'l-muṣṭaba li'l-qawmi'l-muḥdithīn li'l-bid 'a fi's-sawm.*
- (508) *Tuḥfatu'l-mustajībī'n-najīb wa farjatu's-sā'il wa'l-mujīb.*



(509) *Tuhfatu's-sâlih as-salîm wa niqmatu'l-kâshih al-anîm fi'l-jawâb 'alâ Risâlat (Amîn-jî) b. Jalâl ar-ramîm (?)*

(510) *az-Zahratu'z-zâhira fi zawâdi'l-âkhira.*

Şafiyyu'd-dîn Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramî, a Sulaymani dignitary who was an acting *dâ'i* (*ad-dâ'i'l-mustawda'*) during Ja'far b. Sulaymân's minority.

He died the 1st Sha'bân, 1042/11 - 2 - 1633. The present list of his works, alphabetically arranged, seems to be complete up to 1029/1620, i. e. the date of the completion of the *Munîra*.

(511) *al-Âmira li-wuddi'l-ikhwân al-Âmira bi'l-wazn wa'l-qisf fi'l-mizân.*

(512) *Aqwâl la-hu* (i. e. Muḥam. b. Fahd) *fi'l-hujjat.*

(513) *al-Asliḥatu'l-muthqifa wa'l-ajwibatu'l-muskita al-mûqifa.*

(514) *Ḍaḥiyatu't-talbîs wa kâshifatu'l-tadlîs.*

(515) *Ḍarâ'ibu'l-ḥaqqi'l-muthkhina li-tadlîsi'l-bâṭili'l-muzmina.*

(516) *Kinânatu'l-mabâḥith.*

(517) *Malâwisu'n-nufûsi'l-muwaswisa al-jâliya 'an-hâ li-kudûr-âti'l-aqwâli'l-mulbisa.*

(518) *Mawâḍi'l-qadib*, a refutation of the rights of Dâwud b. Quṭb-Shâh.

(519) *al-Muwaqqiza mina'n-na'wm al-muwaqqifa 'alâ ḡalâli'l-muḥ-dithîn li'l-bid'a fi's-sawm.*

(520) *Mu'fiyatu'l-musta'fi minâ'l-hajjâj.*

(521) *al-Mûḍiḥa li-barâḥîn mu'jizati'l-ḥaqq.*

(522) *al-Muḥdhira minâ'l-ightirâr bi'sh-shahâdati'l-muzawwara.*

(523) *al-Munîra li-qulûb dhawî'l-îmân wa'l-baṣîra fi'r-radd 'alâ ṣâhibi'r-risâlati'l-Kabîra*, composed in 1029/1620.

(524) *al-Mushriqa fi'... ? al-ma'rifa.*

(525) *al-Mutajarrida li'l-istinjâzi'l-'ida.*

(526) *Nâshirat al-wiyati'l-ḥaqq wa a'lâmi-hi al-âkhdha minâ'l-bâṭil bi-nawâṣit-hi wa aqdâmi-hi.*



- (527) *Nawādiru'l-akhbār*, divided into fourteen *bābs*.
- (528) *Nujūmu'l- 'aqā'id al-munawwara wa rujūmu'sh-shahā'idī'l-muzawwara*.
- (529) *al-Qāṣima li-tamwīhātī'l-qaryati' z-zālima*.
- (530) *al-Qāṭi'a li-watīnī'l-labīs fī'r-radd 'alā'l-mujlibīn 'alā qānūnī'sh-sharī' atī'l-ghurrā min dhawī't-tadlīs bi-qānūnī'l-millati'l-bānyāniyya wa qiyās Iblīs*.
- (531) *ar-Riḥu'l- 'aqīm al-jā'ila li-mā ant 'alay-hi min talbīsāt Dāwud b. Quṭb fī bid 'atī's-ṣawm ka'r-ramīm*.
- (532) *Shuhubu'l-ḥaqqi'l-murṣida 'alā talābīsī'l-mufrida*.
- (533) *Talā'i'u'l-adillati'l-bāhira al-muthkhina li'sh-shubahī'l-muḍillati'l-āsira*.
- (534) *K. at-Tanbīh*, sent to Miyā-jī Shaykh 'Abdu'l-lāh.
- (535) *aṭ-Ṭayru'labābīl al-mursala 'alā tamwīhāt Ismā'īl*.
- (536) *Thawāqibu'sh-shuhub fī- r-radd 'alā Dāwud b. Quṭb*.
- (537) *at-Tibyānu'l-marṣūṣ min mawāzīnī'n-nuṣūṣ*.
- (538) *Wāḍiḥatu'l-bayān fī 'ālī maḥall Sayyidī-nā Sulaymān*.
- (539) *Wāḍiḥatu'l-irshād wa kāmīlatu'l-istishhād*.
- (540) *al-Wujūhu'l-musaffara wa'l-barāhīnu'l-munawwara al-qāḍiya bi-buḥlān da'wat Dāwud b. Quṭb wa shahādat Ādam b. Ṭayyib*.
- (541) *az-Zāhira dhātu'l-barāhīnī'l-bāhira*.
- (542) *Zubdu'l-ṭurūsi'l-mukhbiratu'l-burhāniyya 'al-mu'arriba 'anī'n-nuṣūṣi'l-muqarrarati's-Sulaymāniyya*.

Diyā'u'd-dīn Isma'īl b. Hibatī'l-lāh b. Ibrāhīm, the 33rd - Sulaymānī dā'ī, d. the 16th Ṣafar 1184/11 - vi - 1770.

(543) *K. al-Mazāj wa't-tasnīm*, completed in 1169/1756. See Griffini, p. 87, H. 76, where a copy dated 1173/1760, from the autograph, is mentioned.

The text has been edited by Prof. R. Strothmann, «Ismailitischer Kommentar zum Koran», in the *Abhandlungen der Aca-*



demie der Wissenschaften in Goettingen, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, no. 31. To my knowledge, so far four «Lieferungs» have appeared, the latest in 1955. As is not rare in the manuscripts copied in the Yaman, it contains many passages in cipher.

Malik Najmu'd-dîn b. Tayyib-'Alî, flourished in India towards the end of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

(544) *Safîna*, an anthology of Sulaymânî and other poems and extracts.

(545) *Majmû 'u'l-masâ'il*, dealing with various religious questions which were sent to the 42nd Sulaymânî *dhî*, Aḥmad b. Isma'îl (d. 18th Jum. ii 1306/19 - ii - 1889); one of them is the question whether there are references to America in the early religious Islamic literature. The autograph copy was written about Rab. ii 1280/Sept., 1863.

Muḥammad Aẓharu'd-dîn Ḥaydarâbâdî (doubtful whether he is the real author), flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth/twentieth century.

(546) *Akḥbârî Sulaymânî wa âthâru'l-withânî*, in Urdu, a versified treatise on the origin of the split between the Sulaymanis and Dawudis, and a refutation of the latter, completed in Dh. Q. 1306/July, 1889. Lithographed in Bombay.

(547) *aṣ-Ṣaḥîfatu'l-Yamâniya*, a collection of prayers, of uncertain date, with explanations in Urdu, repeatedly lithographed in Bombay.



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MUSTA'LIAN SUB-SECTS IN INDIA.

In addition to the Sulaymani-Dawudi split, which produced a lasting cleavage in the Musta'lian community, there were several sectarian developments in the course of its history. Those which are known originated not from anything like popular movements, but apparently were all engineered in the ruling priestly clique in the violent struggle for the control of communal funds. The most typical scheme was a declaration of so-and-so that he had come in contact with the hidden Imam, or his high dignitary, and received authority which over-rides that of the *dā'i* in office. It is interesting, however, to see that in some of them it is possible to find traces of Hinduistic ideas, such as obligatory vegetarianism (Nâ-gushiya).

These sects usually had their days of success, however shortlived, and then fading out of the picture, at the best leaving behind what may be called token groups, living in isolation, surrounded by the atmosphere of bitter hostility of the members of the majority. Trying to find information about these developments I found that, - at least for a foreigner, - it is almost impossible to establish contact with them, or obtain any work of their literature. Some Dawudis coming from the localities in which members of such sects exist, assure that they have books of their own, which they hide from everybody. This seems quite trustworthy, because the originators of such movements usually were highly theologically educated persons who certainly embodied their ideas in works arguing their point of view. So far I have failed to get books of any of these sects, but as in such matters everything depends on chance, blind chance, I insert this short note to draw the attention of a student who perhaps may be incidentally in a position to get into that "prohibited area", perhaps unravelling valuable sidelights on Ismailism in general.

Just at present I have at my disposal only a single source of information in the form of a book with the title "*Gulzare*

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Daudi for (*sic*) the Bohras of India (A short note on the Bohras of India, their 21 Imams and 51 Dais, with their customs and tenets. Compiled and published by Mian Bhai Mulla Abdul Husain, B.A.K.H.M.P.C.S., Burhanpur. "This note was meant to be a Supplement for (*sic*) an article on the Bohras printed on page(s) 15-23, Vol. XVII of the Ethnographic Survey, C. P." [No date of publication,-1920?] Printed at the Amarsinhji press, Ahmedabad, First edition, 500 copies). [Since long out of print and very scarce].

The book is technically helpless, in awkward English with innumerable misprints; it is, however, the work of an intelligent and well-informed author, a by-product of the then incipient protest movement of the better educated and advanced groups of the Bohoras against the enforced obscurantism and backwardness demanded by the priestly clique (which ultimately had to make very substantial concessions later on).

The brief account of the sub-sects occupies pp. 45-53. The first schismatic movement is mentioned in the beginning of the XV-th c., during the time of the 18-th *dā'i* (821-832/1418-1429). A certain Ja'far, apparently a native of Ahmadabad, went for theological education to the Yaman, and on his return, under the patronage of the local orthodox Muhammadan authorities in Gujrat started a campaign for returning to Sunnism. The movement is known in Gujrati as that of Jafferias (Ja'faris).

The next sect mentioned is "Aliās" ('Alī-ites), which appeared during the time of the 28-th *dā'i* (1021-1030/1612-1621). 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, the grandson of the *dā'i*, aspired to the nomination as his successor, but was ignored. His party, however, supported him, and he was recognised as a *dā'i* by a minority. At present the sect still continues in existence only in Baroda, recognising their own succession of *dā'is*, but otherwise not differing from ordinary Dawudis. They, however, do not intermarry with the latter.

An offspring of the "Aliās" was the sect of the "Nāgu-shiās", also in Baroda. The founder (his name, unfortunately, is omitted) was excommunicated by the *dā'is* of the "Aliās" line in 1789 for teaching a Hinduistic doctrine of the sinfulness of eating the flesh of animals. His followers therefore received the



name Nâ-gushiâs, Vegetarians. At present (1897) there were only four families of them. They do not intermarry with the Dawudis, but intermarry with the Aliâs.

The next development was also anti-*dâ'i* in character. It was started by the learned author of the *Fihrist al-Majdû'*, Ismâ'il b. 'Abd ar-Rasûl, and his son, Hibat Allâh, of Ujjain, during the time of the 40-th *dâ'i* (1168-1193/1755-1779). Both were renowned for their great learning, but apparently had not enough support. They introduced a trick calculated on the credulity of the masses, saying that they were in direct contact with the hidden Imam through the *Dâ'i'l-balâgh*, 'Abd Allâh b. Hâarith by name, by whom Hibat Allâh was appointed as *Hujjat al-Layl*, thus being of far higher standing than the *dâ'i* in office. They had an amount of success, and the sect is still in existence in Ujjain, but this evoked energetic opposition on the part of the priestly clique who set the crowd of their followers on Hibat Allâh. His nose was cut off by some fanatics. At present there is still a number of the *Hiptiyâs*, as they are called, in Ujjain, where they live in isolation from the Dawudis, never mixing or intermarrying with them.

The example of the founders of the Hiptiyâ sect found an able imitator in the person of a petty Bombay merchant, who settled in Nagpur, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Jîwâ-Jî. About the year 1897 the exploits of the priestly clique evoked intense feelings of discontent and indignation in all classes of the Bohora community. Taking this into consideration, the bright Bombay shopkeeper declared that he established direct communication with the hidden Imam who appointed him as his *hujjat*. Crowds of Bohoras flocked to Nagpur to attend to his preaching. But the excitement soon subsided and only a small group of his followers remained faithful to him. They live as an isolated colony in a large estate called Mahdî-Bâgh (i.e. Mahdî's garden) in Nagpur. After this place they are named "Mahdî-Bâgh-wallâs".



V. THE LITERATURE OF THE DRUZES

The doctrine propounded by the literature of the Druzes to a great extent forms something like a “bridge” between the classic Fatimid ideas and the later beliefs of the fully developed Nizari Ismailism of the Safawid period in Persia which it anticipated by no less than five hundred years. This fact is the more noteworthy because of the circumstance that both, the Druzes and the Nizaris, as far as is possible to see from the historical information which is available, never came in contact, even in Syria. It is therefore possible to think that such proximity of both should be sought in some deep-rooted religious sentiment which, despite a long independent development, could not find forms for its expression substantially different from each other.

The Druzes still number in Syria and Lebanon some 150 thousands, and, in theory, keep their religious literature in strict secrecy. Nevertheless, Druze manuscripts were the first sectarian books which found their way into many European libraries, and already in 1838 the famous French Orientalist, baron Silvestre de Sacy, published his bulky monograph on the Druze doctrine, summing up in it the contents of their literature, some 120 separate items, none voluminous, many a few pages long. His work, “Exposé de la Religion des Druzes”, is wellknown, but an extremely “hard nut to crack”, quite unreadable, lacking any index, systematic arrangement, etc. It is really amusing to see that the scholar in France, one of the most advanced European countries of the XIX c., has adopted in his book exactly the same method as did Yamanite theologian, Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥâmidî (d. 596/1199), in his summary of the *Majâlis* of Sayyid-nâ al-Mu’ayyad, the *Ĵâmi‘ al-Ḥaqâ’iq*. In his book Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm copied passages from the *Majâlis* dealing with certain theological subjects, just as six hundred years later the learned Frenchman picked up quotations from Druze works, giving them, in a French translation, under different heads. This fact is indicative of both the advancement of Ismailism during the Fatimid



period, and the stagnation of culture in mediaeval Europe. A great defect of his work, for which Monsieur le baron certainly cannot be blamed, is that he approached the sectarian Druze doctrine without first making acquaintance with the base of it, the Ismaili Fatimid literature, which at his time remained inaccessible. When one, having acquired some familiarity with the Fatimid literature, reads the Druze books in the original, and not in de Sacy's translation, the Druzes appear in quite a different light, with their heresy.

There are works in the Druze literature which may be worthy of serious study, - although quite a large proportion of it is worthless, - and it is for this reason that their list, as is given by de Sacy, is reprinted here, with short notes, for the convenience of students.

It may be noted that some short opuscles from the Druze literature have been edited, chiefly by S. de Sacy himself, in his very valuable "Chrestomathie Arabe" (in 2 vols.) which, unfortunately, is now entirely inaccessible, except in the principal Oriental libraries of Europe. A few original editions were also published by him in various learned periodicals of his time, also now as good as inaccessible.

The works of the Druze literature are usually copied in the same traditional sequence and it is said that the collection forms twelve vols. But probably the last volumes, after the ninth or even eighth, are not always found in private collections. Besides, there are works which apparently are not regarded as "canonical", although probably genuine.

Vol. I.

1. (547) *as-Sijill al-ladhî wujud mu'allaqan 'alâ'l-mashâhid (ma-sâ'id?) fî ghaybat Mawlâ-nâ al-Imâm al-Hâkim*. A notice found affixed in mosques on the disappearance of Imam al-Hâkim. Dated the month of Dhû'l-Qa'da 411/Febr.- March 1021. Ed. in Chrest., II, 191.

2. (548) *as-Sijill al-munahhâ fî-hi al-khamr*. Epistle prohibiting drinking wine. Dated the month of Dhû'l-Qa'da 400/June-July 1010. Ed. in Chrestomathie, II, 202.



3. (549) *Khabar al-Yahûd wa'n-Naṣārâ*. Proclamation in connection with Christians and Jews.

4. (550) *Nuskhat mâ kataba-hu al-Qarmaṭî ilâ Mawlâ-nâ al-Ḥâkim bi-amr Allâh . . . 'ind wuṣûli-hi ilâ Miṣr*. Epistle of the Qarmatian leader to al-Ḥâkim, and a reply to it. Was edited in the *Chrestomathie*, II, 205, and translated in the introd., p. 224.

5. (551) *Mithâq Waliyyi'z-zamân*, the Druze version of the Fatimid '*Ahd al-awliyâ*', oath of allegiance and secrecy. Ed. in *Chrest.* II, 206.

6. (552) *an-Naqd al-Khafî*, on al-Ḥâkim's alleged abrogation of the Fatimid Ismaili law, in letter and spirit. Dated Ṣafar 408/July 1017.

7. (553) *Buduww at-tawḥîd li-da'wat al-ḥaqq*, on the "manifestation of monotheism for the preaching of the Truth". Dated Ramaḍân 408/Jan. 1018.

8. (554) *Mithâq an-nisâ'*, women's version of the same as no. 551.

9. (555) *al-Balâgh wa'n-Nihâyat fî't-Tawḥîd ilâ kâfat al-muwahḥidîn al-mutabarri'în min at-talḥîd*, admonitions in the doctrine of monotheism addressed to those believers who freed themselves from heretical beliefs. Dated Muḥarram 409/May 1018.

10. (556) *al-Ghâyat wa'n-naṣîḥat*, dated Rab. II 409/Aug. 1018.

11. (557) *Ḥaqâ'iq mâ yazḥar qaddâm Mawlâ-nâ jall dhikru-hu min al-hazl*, explanation of the real meaning of strange actions witnessed in the presence of al-Ḥâkim. Not dated.

12. (558) *as-Sîrat al-mustaḳîma*, biography of al-Ḥâkim as a proof of his divinity. Dated Jum. I 409/Oct. 1018.

13. (559) *Kashf al-ḥaqâ'iq*, a treatise by Ḥamza himself on the hierarchy of what in the Fatimid literature was called *ḥudûd ad-dîn*. Composed in Ram. 409/Jan. 1019.

14. (560) *Sabab al-asbâb wa kanz li-man ayqan wa istajâb*. Ḥamza's own explanations given to a follower who did not



properly understand him, on the subjects approximately similar to those in the preceding work.

Vol. II.

1/15 (561) *ar-R. ad-Dāmigha li'l-fāsiq. Ar-radd 'alā'l-Nuṣayrī la'ana-hu al-Mawlā fi kull dawr wa kawr.* Refutation of Nusayrism.

2/16 (562) *R. ar-Ridā wa't-taṣlīm.* In this *risāla* Ḥamza (?) mentions Nashtegīn Darazī and his revolt against Ḥamza, and also a certain al-Bardha'ī, an associate of Darazī. Dated Rab. II 409/Aug. 1019.

3/17 (563) *R. at-Tanzīh*, on inapplicability of human-like attributes to the Deity, and thus to al-Ḥākim. Amongst other matters the author again returns to the question of the *ḥudūd*, and develops a theory similar to the beliefs of the present Ahl-i Ḥaqq about the re-incarnation (spiritual or symbolical?) of certain saints, such as 'Abd ar-Rahīm b. Ilyās (- *Nāṭiq*), 'Abbās b. Shu'ayb (- *Asās*, 'Alī b. 'Abd Manāf), *dā'i* Khattegīn (*lāḥiq*, i.e. *ḥujjat*, *wa huwa mukannā bi-Abī Bakr*), and so forth, ending with the chief *qādī* Aḥmad ibn al-'Awwām "*wa huwa 'Uthmān b. 'Iffān*", - five *ḥadd*s of *sharī'at*. The work was completed in Jum. II 409/Oct. 1018.

4/18 (564) *R. an-Nisā' al-kabīra*, the bigger treatise concerning women (apparently the "smaller" should be no. 554). It is in the nature of *naṣīḥat*, referring to the elementary principles of religion.

5/19 (565) *aṣ-Ṣubḥat al-kā'ina* ("the Dawn to come"), an epistle from Ḥamza (b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad "*Hādī al-mustajībīn wa Imām al-muwahḥidīn*", as he usually calls himself) in reply to a letter from the *dā'i* Abū'l-Qāsim Mubārak b. 'Alī, in condemnation of the followers of Nashtegīn (ad-Darazī). It exposes the hereticism of the accused for their wrong ideas about the divinity of al-Ḥākim and threatens them with revenge. (The note devoted to this item by de Sacy appears to be strange).

6/20 (566) *Sijill al-Mujtabā*. An epistle of al-Mujtabā, the chief associate of Ḥamza, addressed to the *dā'i* Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl Tamīmī.



7/21 (567) *Taqlîd ar-Riḍâ safîr al-Qudrat*. Appointment of the *dâ'i* Abû 'Abd Allâh Qurayshî, issued by ar-Riḍâ, a second associate of Ḥamza. Dated Shawwâl 409/Febr. 1019.

8/22 (568) *Taqlîd al-Muqtanâ*. Appointment of al-Muqtanâ, issued by Muṣṭafâ, the third dignitary, to whom he was subordinated. His real name was the *dâ'i* Bahâ' ad-dîn Abû'l-Ḥasan 'Alî Simûkî. Dated 13 Sha'bân 410/14-12-1019.

9/23 (569) *Mukâtabat ilâ ahl al-Kudyat al-Bayḍâ*, an epistle to the inhabitants of a village al-Kudyat al-Bayḍâ. (It occupies only one page).

19/24 (570) *Risâlat al-Inṣinâ'*, a short epistle of Ḥamza to the people of Inṣinâ', dated 10 Jum. II, 410/13-10-1019.

11/25 (571) *Sharḥ al-Imâm Ṣâhib al-Kaṣḥf*. Marriage as it shall be in the period of the full manifestation in glory of the Imam of the time. Ed. in Chrest. II, 107.

12/26 (572) *ar-Risâlat al-latî ursilat ilâ Waliyyi'l-'ahd 'ahd al-muslimîn 'Abd ar-Raḥîm b. Ilyâs*, al-Ḥâkim's nephew and heir designate. Ed. in Chrest., II, 209.

13/27 (573) *Risâlat Khumâr b. Jaysh as-Sulaymânî al-'Akkâwî*. A letter addressed to Khumâr b. Jaysh, al-Ḥâkim's cousin, who pretended to have been adopted by al-'Azîz, and called himself al-Ḥâkim's brother. Ed. in Chrest., II, 211.

14/28 (574) *ar-R. al-Munfidha ilâ'l-Qâḍî*, prescribing the dress in which the judge should be clad while delivering his judgment. Dated Rab. I, 409/July 1018. Ed. Chrest. II, 213.

15/29 (575) *Munâjât Waliyyi'l-Ḥaqq*. Prayers to al-Ḥâkim.

16/30 (576) *ad-Du'â' al-mustajâb*, prayer which will be accepted (by the Deity).

17/31 (577) *at-Taqdîs. Du'â' as-Sâdiqîn (aṣ-Ṣâdiqîn?)*. *Du'â' li-naġât al-muwahhîdîn al-'ârifîn*. Prayers.

18/32 (578) *Ma'rîfat al-Imâm wa asmâ' al-ḥudûd al-'uhwiyya rūḥâniyyan wa jismâniyyan*. It gives the real names of the members of the higher hierarchy of the dignitaries.

19/33 (579) *R. al-Taḥdhîr wa't-tanbîh*, by Ḥamza. realpatidar.com



20/34 (580) *al-I'dhâr wa'l-îndhâr ash-shâfiya li-qulûb ahl al-ḥaqq min al-marad wa'l-ikhtiyâr*. As de Sacy states, in a gloss, it is said that these warnings were directed against the propaganda of a certain rival of Ḥamza, "Ibn al-Barbariyya".

21/35 (581) *R. al-Ghayba*, about the disappearance of al-Ḥâkim, to Syrian followers.

22/36 (582) *Taqsim al-'ulûm wa Ithbât al-ḥaqq wa kashf al-maktûb*, by Ismâ'il b. Muḥammad b. Ḥâmid at-Tamîmî, who received his information from Ḥamza, here called *Qâ'im az-zamân*. Dated Muḥarram 410/May 1019.

23/37 (583) *R. az-Zinâd*, the mystic flint which emits sparks of mystic knowledge. It contains many *ta'wîls* of various verses of the Coran.

24/38 (584) *R. ash-Sham'a*, by the same Ismâ'il at-Tamîmî *ad-dâ'i*, composed still under al-Ḥâkim himself. It is the symbolism of a candle as a combination of different parts, each part corresponding to a degree of the dignitaries in the hierarchy.

25/39 (585) *ar-Rushd wa'l-hidâyat*, by al-Mujtabâ, as is usual for him, filled with empty verbiage.

26/40 (586) *Shi'r an-Nafs*, in verse, addressed to inhabitants of the Summâq hills, by the same Mujtabâ.

Volume III.

1/41 (587) *al-Juz' al-Awwal min as-sab'at ajzâ'*. Explanation of the first of the seven basic commandments of the Druze religion.

2/42 (588) *at-Tanbîh wa't-Ta'nîb wa't-Tawbîkh wa't-Tawqîf*, addressed to two *dâ'is*, whose faith was suspected. Dated 422/1031.

3/43 (589) *Mathalan daraba-hu ba'd ḥukamâ' ad-diyânât tawbîkhan li-man qaṣṣar ḥifẓ al-amânât*.

4/44 (590) *R. Banî Abî Ḥimâr*, against those who believe that the divinity of al-Ḥâkim could pass to his son and successor.



5/45 (591) *Taqlîd lâhiq; at-Taqlîd al-awwal ilâ ash-Shaykh al-Mukhtâr*. Appointment of a *lâhiq* (the term sometimes is used in the sense of the *hujjat*, and sometimes of a *bâb*). The first appointment to the "chosen sheikh". Dated Muḥarram 418/Febr. 1027.

6/46 (592) *Taqlîd Sikkin* (as de Sacy reads the name; in the MS 5268 of the Bodleian Library the name is clearly vocalised as "Sukayn"). The author, Bahâ' ad-dîn al-Muqtanâ, with his usual verbosity and pompous meaninglessness, appoints Sukayn, in Syria, as a dignitary in the Druze community. Dated Jum. II 418/July 1027.

7/47 (593) *Taqlîd ash-Shaykh Abî al-Katâ'ib*. His appointment as a dignitary in Bayḍâ' and all villages of Şa'îd.

8/48 (594) *Taqlîd Abî'l-Fawâris Mi'ḍâd ibn Yûsuf*, in Fillijîn. Another appointment of a dignitary, subordinated to Sukayn, mentioned above.

9/49 (595) *Taqlîd Banî Jarrâh*. Appointment, by al-Muqtanâ, of two descendants of Jarrâh, Jâbir and Zammâkh, sons of Mufarrij.

10/50 (596) *ar-R. al-ḡumayhiriyya*. Al-Muqtanâ's epistle to several *dâ'is* of Banû Tanûkh. Dated Jum. II 428/July 1027.

11/51 (597) *al-Ta'nîf wa't-tahjîn bi-jamâ'at (or li-jamâ'at) man bi-sunhûr min Kulâmâ al-'ajjyisyyîn*, from the same verbose al-Muqtanâ, with reprimands. The same date.

12/52 (598) *R. al-Wâdî*. al-Muqtanâ's epistle to the *dâ'is* of the locality known simply as al-Wâdî, which means a water-course. Dated the same Jum. II 418/July 1027.

13/53 (599) *ar-R. al-Qusṭanṭîniyya*, sent to (emperor) Constantin (VIII, of Byzantium), the ruler of the Christians. Dated the 22 Şafâr 419/22 March 1028.

14/54 (600) *ar-R. al-Masîḥiyya*. Another lengthy production, apparently by al-Muqtanâ, on controversial subjects, in which Ḥamza is called the Messiah. No date.

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15/55 (601) *at-Ta'aqqub wa'l-iftiqâd li-adâ' mâ baqâ 'alay-nâ min hadm sharî'at an-Naṣârâ al-fasaqat al-addâd*. Another controversial, very verbose, production of Muqtanâ on anti-Christian polemics. It is addressed to the Byzantine emperor Michail the Paphlagonian, the husband of the empress Zoe, daughter of Constantin VIII, to whom no. 599 is addressed. The author refers in the text to *ar-R. an-Nûrâniyya*, which is unknown among the Druze books and perhaps may be an Ismaili work.

16/56 (602) *al-Îqâz wa'l-bishârat li-ahl al-ghaflat wa âl al-haqq wa'l-tahârat*, addressed to the people of both Iraqs, announcing the early re-appearance of Ḥamza. Dated the 10th of Dhû'l-Qa'da 423/23-11-1032. The name of the author is not mentioned.

17/57 (603) *al-Ḥaqqâ'iq wa'l-indhâr wa't-ta'dîb li-jam' al-khalâ'iq*, an epistle of Muqtanâ to the people of Liban, Antiochia, some portions of Syria and 'Irâq, with complaints on the deterioration of religion in those places. Dated Jum. II 425/May 1034.

18/58 (604) *ar-R. ash-Shâfiya li-nufûs al-muwahhidîn al-mumrida li-qulûb al-muqṣirîn al-jâhidîn*. It seems to be not by Muqtanâ, because markedly differs from his style. Nothing is said by de Sacy (p. 491), although Muqtanâ's name appears in the colophon.

19/59 (605) *Risâlat al-'Arab*. An epistle to the Arabs in general and more especially to Jâbir and Zammâkh mentioned in the epistle no. 595. Dated 10 Rajab 422/3-7-1031.

20/60 (606) *Risâlat al-Yaman wa hidâyat an-nufûs at-tâhirât wa lam ash-shaml wa jam' ash-shitât*, dated Shawwâl 415/Dec. 1024.

21/61 (607) *Risâlat al-Hind*, or *at-Tadhkâr wa'l-kamâl ilâ ash-shaykh ar-rashîd al-musaddid al-mifdâl*. An epistle addressed to the Druze community in India, especially Multan, and the prince Raja-Bal (i. e. Rajpal). Mas'ûd the Ghaznawid is apparently referred to. Dated 425/1034.

22/62 (608) *at-Taqrî' wa'l-bayân wa iqâmat al-hujjat li-waliyy-i'z-zamân*, addressed to the faithful in Cairo and Fostat.

23/63 (609) *Ta'dîb al-walad al-'âqq min al-awlâd al-ghâfil*, etc. Moralising admonitions, with *ayyu-hâ al-walad*, perhaps really addressed to the son of the author, whose name and the date of composition are not mentioned.



24/64 (610) *al-Qāṣi'a li'l-Fir'awn*, etc., refutation of an impostor Ibn al-Kurdī by name. Comp. in Rajab 426/May 1035.

25/65 (611) *Kilāb "Abū'l-yaqẓān" wa mā tawfiqī illā bi-tā'at ḥudūd Waliyyi'z-zamān*, by al-Muqtanā, to a certain sheikh whose name is not mentioned. No date.

26/66 (612) *Tam'iz al-muwahhidin at-tāhirin min ḥizb al-ʿuṣāt al-fasaqa an-nākihīn*, by Muqtanā.

26/67 (613) *Min dūn Qā'im az-zamān wa'l-hādī ilā tā'at ar-Raḥmān*. "*Qā'im az-zamān*" in the Druze literature is the term for Ḥamza, but, as de Sacy states, the style of the work is quite different from that of either Ḥamza or Muqtanā. No date. Poetry quoted.

28/68 (614) *R. as-Safar ilā's sādāt fī'd-da'wat li-tā'at Waliyyi'l-Ḥaqq al-Imām al-Qā'im al-muntaẓar*, by Muqtanā, dated Šafar 430/Nov. 1038, and addressed to sheikhs of Laḥsa. In de Sacy's book there are two opuscles mentioned between the above and those of the next volume:

29/69 (615) *al-Asrār wa majālis ar-raḥma li'l-awliyā' wa'l-abrār*, dated Muḥarram 417/Febr. 1026. The style is quite different from that of Muqtanā, and de Sacy suggests that it is by one of the "impostors" who perverted the doctrine.

30/70 (616) *Majālis ar-raḥma*, only a few lines preserved.

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1/71 (617) *Mi'rāj najāt al-muwahhidin wa sullam ḥayāt al-mūqinīn*. No date. Just the usual manipulations of words, perhaps by the same Muqtanā.

2/72 (618) *Dhikr al-Ma'ād wa'r-radd ʿalā man ʿabbar bi'l-ghalaṭ wa'l-ilḥād*. No date. The author refers to the 19th and 27th of the second hundred of the *Māqilises* of a certain ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

3/73 (619) *at-Tabyīn wa'l-Istidrāk li-ba'd mā lam tudrik-hu al-ʿuqūl fī kashf al-kufr al-mahjūb min al-ilḥād wa'l-ishrāk*. It is by Muqtanā who refers to his own work (no. 601).



4/74 (620) *ar-R. al-Isrâ'iliyya ad-dâmigha li-ahl al-ladûd wa'l-juhûd a'nî al-kafarat min ahl shari'at al-Tahûd*. By Muqtanâ, who refers to his own works, the opuscles referred to in the preceding note.

5/75 (621) *Aḥad wa sab'in su'âl*, etc. The work contains references to the *Sijill mukarram* (that is, issued by the Imam) to a certain Ṣâlih b. 'Alî Rûdbârî, *dâ'i* in the *jazīra* of Ray.

6/75 (622) *Îdâh at-tawhîd li-man tanabbah min sunnat al-ghaflat wa 'araf al-ḥaqq*, by Muqtanâ, dated Dhû'l-Qa'da 430/Aug. 1039. References to the *Majlises* of al-Mu'izz, al-'Azîz, and 'Abd al-'Azîz (cf. above, no. 618).

7/77 (623) *ar-Radd 'alâ ahl al-Ta'wîl al-ladhîn yûjibû takrâr al-ilâh fî'l-aqmiṣat al-mukhtalifa*. A very interesting discussion of the doctrine of the re-incarnation of the deity, similar to the *dûn*, *libâs* of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq. Unfortunately, incomplete in the MS Arab. e. 90 of the Bodleian Library. The volume ends with blank pages after which is added *Du'â yutlâ ba'd majlis adh-dhikr min ta'lîf ash-shaykh al-fâḍil*. No name.

From here only de Sacy's work is followed.

8/78 (624) *Tawbîkh Ibn al-Barbariyya* (also called *ar-R. ad-dâmigha li'l-fâsiq*, etc. The same person is attacked in no. 580, which is by Ḥamza. Apparently by Muqtanâ, referring to the events of 428/1037 and later. Ḥamza's work *R. al-i'dhâr wa'l-indhâr* (no. 580) is referred to.

9/79 (625) *Tawbîkh lâḥiq*. Reprimand to a *lâḥiq*, i.e. either *ḥujjat* or *bâb*, not a personal name as apparently regarded by de Sacy. A work by Ḥamza is referred to (not in this collection): *R. al-ghayyâr ad-dâmigha li-ahl al-kidhb wa'l-'iṣyân wa'l-iṣrâr*.

10/80 (626) *Tawbîkh al-khâ'ib al-'âjiz Sukayn* (or *Sikkîn*), the same as mentioned in the work (no. 592), an associate of the impostor Ibn al-Kurdî. The work is most probably by the same Muqtanâ.

11/81 (627) *Tawbîkh Ibn Abî Ḥaṣiyya*, by Muqtanâ who refers to *ar-R. al-Qâṣi'a li'l-Fir'awn* (no. 610) and *R. Abî'l-Yaqẓân* (no. 611).



12/82 (628) *Tawbîkh Sahl*, partly in prose and partly in verse, chastising for some misdeeds.

13/83 (629) *Tawbîkh Hasan b. Mu'allâ*, chastisement of Ibn Mu'allâ for the participation in the murder of Ibn 'Ammâr, killed by Ibn al-Kurdi.

14/84 (630) *Tawbîkh al-khâ'ib Muḥallâ*, by Muqtanâ, warning him about his misdeeds.

15/85 (631) *R. al-Banât al-Kabîra*.

16/86 (632) *R. al-Banât aṣ-Ṣaghîra*. (This and the preceding edited in Chrest. II).

17/87 (633) *al-Maqâla fî'r-radd 'alâ'l-munajjimîn*.

18/88 (634) *Budw al-khalq*, Muqtanâ's answer to a letter.

19/89 (635) *al-Maw'iza*, dated the 5 Jum. I. 428/24-2-1037, by Muqtanâ.

20/90 (636) *al-Muwâjiḥa*. Credentials to several messengers despatched by Muqtanâ to Ḥamza in his retreat.

21/91 (637) *Mukâtabat ash-Shaykh Abû'l-Katâ'ib*, letter addressed to the same person, Abû'l-Katâ'ib as mentioned in his appointment to Bayḍâ' and Ṣa'id in no. 593.

22/92 (638) *Manshûr ilâ âl-'Abd Allâh*. Dated 14 Dhî Qa'da, not mentioning the year.

23/93 (639) *Jawâb Kitâb as-sâdat*, declaring that the time of the reappearance of the *Qâ'im az-zamân*, that is, Ḥamza in his retreat, is approaching.

24/94 (640) *al-Kitâb al-munfadh 'alâ yad sarâya*, a business note, by an anonymous author.

25/95 (641) *Mukâtabat tadhkirat*, another note of a similar kind.

26/96 (642) *Mukâtabat Naṣr b. Futûḥ*, another one.

27/97 (643) *as-Sijill al-wârid ilâ Naṣr*, referring to complaints against Ibn Mu'allâ (cf. no. 629).

28/98 (644) *Manshûr ash-shaykh Abû'l-ma'ânî aṭ-Ṭâhir*, on some administrative matters.



29/99 (645) *Manshûr ilâ jamâ'at Abî Turâb*, by Muqtanâ.
No date.

30/100 (646) *Risâlat Jabal as-Summâq*, by Muqtanâ, dated
428/1037.

31/101 (647) *Manshûr ilâ âl 'Abd Allâh wa âl Sulaymân*, by
Muqtanâ, dated Rab. II 428/Jan. 1037. The subject is a demand
for money which Sukayn (or Sikkîn, mentioned above), tried to
misappropriate from the village al-Bustân.

32/102 (648) *Manshûr Abâ 'Alî*, by Muqtanâ, also on finan-
cial matters.

33/103 (649) *Manshûr ramz li-Abî'l-Khayr Salâma*, on com-
mercial matters.

34/104 (670) *Manshûr ash-shart wa'l-batt*, from Muqtanâ to
his community, recalling orders of Hamza.

35/105 (671) *Mukâtabat ilâ ash-shuyûkh al-awwâbîn*, from
Muqtanâ, on the subject of renegades from the community.

36/106 (672) *Manshûr fî dhikr iqâlat Sa'd*, by Muqtanâ,
similar to the preceding one, especially on a certain Sa'd, and
sheykhs of the village al-Bustân.

37/107 (673) *Mukâtabat ramz ilâ ash-shaykh Abû'l-Ma'âlî*, by
Muqtanâ (?), an allegory concerning some malpractices in the
community.

38/108 (674) *Manshûr ilâ maḥall al-azhar ash-sharîf*, on apo-
stasy of certain members of the community.

39/109 (675) *Manshûr Naṣr b. Futûḥ*, an allegory, on some
money business. Cf. nos. 642, 643.

40/110 (626) *Mukâtaba ramz ilâ âl Abî Turâb*, another alle-
gorical letter. Warning against Ibn al-Kurdî who is in Egypt.

41/111 (677) *ar-R. al-wâṣila ilâ'l-Jabal al-Anwar* (Liban
mountains), by Muqtanâ, dated Ram. 433/May 1042, against
those who pervert religion.

42/112 (678) *Mukâtabat ash-shaykh Abî'l-Ma'âlî*, Muqtanâ's
letter to Abû'l-Ma'âlî, dated the same year, 433/1042.



43/113 (679) *Mansûbat bi'l-Ghaybat*, Muqtanâ's farewell letter, in which he emphatically asserts his having nothing to do with the perversions of the religion preached by the "*lâhîq*", Sukayn (Sikkîn), Muṣ'ab (?), and the like. Apparently to be dated 433/1042.

It is difficult to say whether this series exhausts the whole of the religious literature of the Druzes. The unfortunate game of keeping it secret by the devotees may, or may not conceal the possibility that there are some more works which have not yet come into the hands of outsiders.

(680) *Shârh Mithâq Waliyyi'z-Zamân*.

Although Druze manuscripts are found in many European and some Syrian and Egyptian libraries, they remain un-catalogued, and it is difficult to find out whether there are many works which should be added to the collection of de Sacy. One of such works is found in the British Museum library under the designation Or. 6852. Unfortunately, the copy is defective both at the beginning and the end. At the beginning apparently several pages are missing, which probably contained the name of the author and the original title. At the end there is no colophon.

The work is a detailed commentary on the *Mithâq Waliyyi'z-Zamân*, no. 5 in de Sacy's list (no. 551). Fortunately, the commentary itself is complete, beginning with the first word of the *Mithâq*, and ending with the last. As is known, Ismaili literature and the Druze works known so far have no commentaries, of the usual orthodox type. But here we have an exceptionally detailed one. The portion which is preserved is 307 fairly large pages, as against barely some 150 words of the original text. It is difficult to offer any suggestion as to the date of composition, but the impression which it produces is that it might belong to the period at which the whole Druze literature has sprung, namely the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. There is plenty of interesting information, not only about matters of dogma, but also of the events in the early history of the sect. Many pages are often devoted to the explanation of a single word in the original text; many names and titles of books, - some perhaps Ismaili, are



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No. 680A 125

referred to. The style is not so florid as that of Muqtanâ's works, but the language apparently does not, on the whole differ from that of other Druze books.

(680-A) *Qiṣṣat Miqdâd (?)* A lengthy mathnawî poem dealing with the legend of Miqdâd, the early Shi'ite saint, and his fight against the enemies of 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib in the battle of Şiffîn (37/657). I bought this manuscript in Damascus, and have shown it to some Druzes, who assured that the book comes from the Druze community. I myself, looking through it, could not find anything that would clearly show traces of Druzism. Perhaps when more may become known about the Druze non-canonical literature, it will be possible to decide the matter finally. The copy is incomplete at the beginning.

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PART II

NIZARI ISMAILI LITERATURE

To the short note given in the Introduction (pp. 9-10 above) it is necessary to add that in common parlance, especially in Ismaili circles, this expression long since has received the meaning of *Ismaili works in Persian* in general, including those written *before* the Nizari-Musta'lian split as well as long after it when the genuine Nizari spirit had almost entirely evaporated from it. Perhaps the best name to specify the real Nizari trend in Ismaili literature would be the "Alamut School".

This school, as has been said in the Introduction, came into being after the period of dead silence which lasted almost seventy years after the split, and was introduced by a dramatic event, the proclamation of the "Great *Qiyāmat*", the long awaited "Resurrection", in 559/1164. Catastrophic events of Persian history of that time have nipped it in the bud, and apparently only meager remnants, better to say traces, were all that was preserved till our times.

It is difficult to believe that in the intervening period of "silence" no works were composed during the long years of probable untold despair and anxiety of the Ismaili community in Persia. But if they were written down, events have swept them clean from the memory of mankind. This, however, does not mean that the new-born Nizari literature appeared to be inscribed on a clean slate. Although it is practically impossible to confirm, with reliable dates and names of authors, the existence of the pre-Alamut *popular* Ismaili literature, it is beyond doubt that such literature existed, and even was preserved through centuries in variedly modified versions, having been "processed" by the changing generations who re-copied these, not, of course, without adjusting them to the changing conditions and outlook. As it is well-known, during the domination of Arabic as the language of literature, even Arabic grammar was

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studied by Persians from manuals in Arabic, which were simply memorised. Such conservative methods of instruction could even be a few decades ago observed in various backwater corners of the Islamic world, as, for instance, in Bukhara. It is therefore quite legitimate to think that early Ismailis in Persia were memorising some of the popular Arabic manuals on their religion which are still included amongst the books of the Fatimid literature.

Quite possibly, although also difficult to prove owing to the loss of the literature, Arabic gradually disappeared from school books during the period of the Iranian nationalistic wave of the XI-XII cc. There is no answer to the question whether this change had any relation to the rise of the Nizari doctrine.

The books, or mostly booklets, of this kind, are still fairly numerous. They are at once recognizable by the antiquated and simply obsolete terminology, long since abandoned in the Fatimid and post-Fatimid literature: terms as *Nâṭiq*, *Asās*, the emphasis on the prescriptions of *sharīʿat*, and its *taʿwīl*. Amongst these incidentally are found works clearly reflecting primitive conditions of economy of probably great antiquity, as in a work described further on under no. 698. We may have full right to apply to this literature the name of the "conservative current". It is a great pity that no work that is known to me contains an indication of the date of composition. The earliest which does comes on the eve of the Safawid reform. It is, in fact, the *Sī-u shish Ṣaḥīfa*, composed by a certain Sayyid Suhrāb Walī of Badakhshan, in 856/1452.

We must also include in this class the works of Nâṣir-i Khusraw, although in none of them is the name of Nizār mentioned, and apparently all of them had been composed *before* the split. Of course, as a devout Ismaili, Nâṣir-i Khusraw would have been hardly expected to side with Mustaʿlī and his successors, yet this is merely a probability, with no "written testimony".

The old "conservative" current continued to exist along with the "Alamut school", and even withstood the pressure of the "fashion" which came as a powerful factor in spiritual life in the form of the Safawid Shiʿitisation of Persia.



The literature of Sufism, especially Sufic poetry, is enormous, and even the literature *about* Sufism, in various Western and Oriental languages, is copious; but it would be no exaggeration to say that at least 95 p. c. of it consists of rubbish and banalities. Real "jewels", genuine and important, are as rare as in many other fields of human activities. As the question of the relation between Ismailism and Sufism is a subject which almost never has been touched in the study of Ismaili history, I believe it would be useful to mention here certain facts.

It is often ignored that Sufism was a typical and perhaps exclusive development of early *Sunnism*. For an early Sufi ascetic an Ismaili was, before everything, a *râfiḍī*, schismatic enemy of the orthodoxy, while an Ismaili looked upon a Sufi with contempt, regarding him also as a heretic, one of the *ghulât al-Hashwiyya*, over-enthusiasts who emphasize the form of religion at the expense of its spirit, as an enemy of the Holy Family, one who dares to place the deified 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib on the same level with the first three caliphs. There was abysmal difference in the outlook of the Sufi, a product of the decomposition and degeneration of Eastern-Mediterranean ancient cultures, senile and determinately parasitic, on the one side, and Ismailism, one of the most virile, sober-minded and intellectually active developments in Islam, before it succumbed to mystical influences later on. The judges who in 309/922 tried Maṣṣūr-i Ḥallāj, an eminent Sufi, and established the fact of his contact with the Qarmāṭians (as the Ismailis were abusively called at the time), sentenced him to cruel death. It is difficult to see whether it was religious or political motives which predominated in their judgment, owing to the "tension" stirred by the Abbaside fears. We may, however, perhaps legitimately think that great fuss was made in the case of Ḥallāj chiefly owing to the outstanding figure of the accused, and that contact on the level of "small fry", between Sufis and Ismailis, was nothing extraordinary.

It is quite natural that Sufic writers and hagiologists definitely avoided mention of such matters, while the Ismailis simply did not care for such contacts. Before long, however, political events of that time altered things completely, eliminating



both the Ismailis and Abbasids as political forces. Thus both currents could meet each other on the spiritual ground, only.

Already early after the Mongol catastrophe, in 710/1310, an interesting "document" made its appearance, a versified treatise in Persian, *Gulshan-i Râz* ("Flower garden of Mysteries") composed by an obscure Sufic author, Maḥmūd-i Shabistari, of whose biography and whereabouts we know nothing. Ever since it has been regarded as a kind of "authority" in the matters of Sufism and evoked many imitations. Yet it is not necessary to be particularly perspicacious, in the case of a certain familiarity with Ismailism, to see how much the Sufic theosophy of the *Gulshan-i Râz* owes to Ismaili theories.

It is difficult to doubt that in the *Gulshan-i Râz* we have an approach from the *Sufic* side, by someone who was much impressed by Ismaili literature. The treatise, or poem, closely resembles the numerous *urjûzas* of the Ismailis, and even shows traces of the Neo-Yamanite predilection for the question and answer form (*mas'ala wa jawâb*). It is not difficult to follow the alterations and modifications introduced in the process of adjustment. First of all the Shi'ite outlook had to go; the Imam disappeared to reappear later in *Taşawwuf* in the person of the mystical *Qutb*, around whom the Universe rotates. The skeleton of the Sufic theosophy, the popular *ḥikmat*, of which there is no sign in early Sufism, has been taken over whole. Even traces of the idea of the *ḥudûd* (remarkably enough, with the retention of the Early-Yamanite terminology, of *naqîbs*, *najîbs*, etc.) have been preserved. Here is certainly no place for a detailed analysis of the matter, but it may prove a deserving subject for a special study.

An important fact, never noted so far, is that the obscure Maḥmūd-i Shabistari had an *Ismaili* contemporary, who was working, probably quite independently, exactly in the same spirit, though in a very different way. It was Nizârî Quhistânî, a native of Khûsp, near Birjand, a devout Ismaili, who died about 720/1320. He was a poet of high rank (cf. nos. 691-697). Perhaps it was he to whom the idea of camouflaging Ismaili ideas in Sufic expressions of a symbolic nature occurred for the first time. It is really amusing to see that his writings were so often



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studied as works of standard Sufism, while no one tried to unveil his real face as that of an Ismaili.

Studying Persian literature it is easy to see how Shi'ite elements began to spread in it: Ni'matu'l-lâh Walî, Qâsim-i Anwâr, and others. The ground was prepared for the sweeping Shi'ite sentiment in poetry and prose with the advent of the Safawid period. The intensity of the Shi'ite sentiment of Ismaili origin could very easily find a common language with the Ithna-'ashari variety of the same spirit, and this was accompanied by the tempting facility of discussing it in the open in the evasive form of "symbolism". Many who had the itch to pose as poets, discussing unspeakable mysteries, began to manufacture such supposed symbolical ghazals by the thousands. The old Nizari literature became entirely replaced by that produced under the influence of the new fashion, and owing to the reduced demand, was copied more and more seldom, ultimately turning into a real rarity, and being mostly preserved in such remote corners as Chitral, Baltit and valley of the Upper Oxus.

Nizari literature has not escaped the influences of modern times which appear as exotic "patches" in it. Such is the awakening interest in history as a counterpart to traditional legendary stories. In addition, it is possible to mention Indian elements penetrating with the printed literature imported from Bombay, in the form of Khoja illustrated periodicals in Gujrati.

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1. The Alamut School

(681) *Fuṣūl-i Mubārak*. The meaning of the title and the nature of the *Fuṣūl* has been explained above. It may be added that the term was apparently never used before the proclamation of the *Qiyāmat*; the Fatimids used the term *siḡill* (from Latin *sigillum*, lit. seal), in that sense. The modern equivalent is *farmān*. The term *Fuṣūl* was apparently used only during the Alamut period, and a certain time after it, was applied only to the epistles or orders emanating from the Imams, not from any other authority. It was also used in Singular, *faṣl*. It is really remarkable that the religious documents of such importance were apparently never collected in book-form, and were rarely re-copied. Already at the time of Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), that is to say only a hundred years, or so, after the *Qiyāmat*, it was very difficult to find them. In his *Sayr wa Sulūk* (see no. 688) he tells how he incidentally came across several of them in the possession of an ignorant man. The latter, however, was not willing to part with them, so that Ṭūsī could get them only by playing a trick, *hila*. Only after some 350 years after the *Qiyāmat* the idea of collecting and editing them came to Bū Ishāq Quhistānī, the author of the *Haft-bāb* (cf. no. 702 and p. 42 of the edition of the text), but nothing is known of what had resulted from this good intention. In any case such an edition is never mentioned in the books written after his time. Quotations from the *Fuṣūl* which for the first time appear in the *Haft-bāb-i Bābā Sayyid-nā* (no. 683), composed by an anonymous author in 596/1200, gradually become rarer and rarer, and ultimately cease to appear during the Safawid period. My persistent search for them during many years was fruitless. The only sample of this kind, *Alfāz-i guhar-bār*, by his son and successor, is mentioned in the next note.

(682) *Mawla-nā Nūru'd-dīn* (or *Ḍiyā'u'd-dīn*) Muḥammad b. Ḥasan 'alā dhikri-hi's-salām (his own name is usually accompanied



by the invocation "*li-dhikri-hi's-sajūd wa't-tasbīḥ*"), who succeeded the preceding Imam (561-607/1166-1210). He, according to the *Jāmi' at-tawārīkh* (ed. Dabir-Siyaqi, Tehran, 1958, pp. 102 sqq), continued the activities of his father, and also issued some *fuṣūl*. They were apparently not so numerous or important, and in fact there is only one opusculum (known by the first words of it as *Alfāz-i guhar-bār*), with the name of the author and his full title. Copies of this opusculum are very numerous, and usually swarming with errors. The author sometimes is called Muḥammad Zar-dūz, i.e. "embroiderer", the latter nickname being usually applied to Imam Shamsu'd-dīn b. Rukni'd-dīn, whose name was also Muḥammad, but who apparently had not left any literary works, and is in legends often confounded with Shams-i Tabrīz, Rūmī's associate.

An anonymous Persian author who wrote in 596/1200. It is possible to see from his words (p. 21) that he was personally present in Alamut at the celebration of the "Great *Qiyāmat*" in 559/1164. Unfortunately, he gives no material for details as to his biography.

(683) *Haft Bâb-i Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ*. "Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ" in the parlance of the Ismailis of Badakhshan (in a wider sense) means Sayyid-nâ Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ. The "Bâbâ" is a Turkish derwish term of respect applied as a honorific title, what in old Sufic literature was "sheikh", a senior spiritual leader. The presence of this term proves nothing beyond the book having passed through Central Asia, where ignorant copyists introduced it in the text. The book was written 80 years after the death of Sayyid-nâ (518/1124), and his name figures in the title perhaps because he is often mentioned in the text. It was edited by myself (Bombay, 1933) "Two Early Ismaili Treatises", no. 2, "Islamic Research Association series, pp. 43-55. New edition, based on better manuscripts, is contemplated. As has been mentioned above, it is the earliest accessible Ismaili work which contains quotations of the *Fuṣūl-i Mubârak*, and the story of the ceremony at the celebration of the Great *Qiyāmat* in Alamut.



Ra'īs Ḥasan, or, to give him his full name, Ḥasan b. Ṣalāḥ (ad-Dīn) Birjandī, the secretary (*munshī*) of the *muḥtashams* of Quhistān in the first half of the vii/xiii c. He was a poet of high class, and a historian. Unfortunately, very little remains of his works.

(684) (*Ta'rikh-i Ismā'iliyya*), a history of the Ismaili community, with special reference to the last period of the Alamut enclave. It is lost, but was used in the compilation of the *Jāmi' u't-tawārikh* of Rashīdu'd-dīn, where his name is given in the form of "Ḥasan-i Ṣalāḥ Munshī". Cf. p. 88 of the edition of Dabir Siyaqi, Tehran, 1958, where his name erroneously appears in the form of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ Munshī. Also "*Majmū'a'i Rasā'il . . . Naṣṭru'd-dīn Ṭūsī*" (by Mudarris-i Riḍawī), p. 123.

(685) His poetry is preserved chiefly in the form of short quotations in some early Nizari works. Exceptions are some *qaṣīdas*, one of which, in praise of the *fidāwīs* who killed the Atabeg Qizil-Arslān (582-587/1186-1191), was edited and translated by W. Ivanow in 1938, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S.*, pp. 53-72. It is intended to edit several other *qaṣīdas* and *qit'as* in near future.

(686) *Qāsim Tushtarī* (or Shustarī), another poet *apparently* from the same period. Very short quotations of his poetry appear in early Nizari works. So far nothing could be found to supply more precision concerning his biography.

Naṣṭr ad-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) *Ṭūsī*, nicknamed *Khawāja*, born in 597/1201, d. in Baghdad the 18th Dhī'l-ḥijja 672/25-5-1274, the famous astronomer, philosopher, moralist and Ithna-'ashari theologian. Although he was not, at least during the whole of his life, an Ismaili, he had some very strong ties with the Ismaili community, which he, out of career considerations, always tried to deny, sticking to a rather naive story of his being "forced" by the Ismailis to compose certain books "for them". The nature of such ties remains a mystery. Ithna-'ashari scholars deny the au-



thenticity of his Ismaili works simply out of sentimental considerations: "how could such a person be an Īsmaili?" He produced several works on Ismaili doctrine, but most probably their greater part have been lost. Those which are in existence are:

(687) *Rawḍatu't-taslīm*, popularly known under the title of "*Taṣawwūrāt*", after the term used for the chapters into which it is divided. It was edited, translated into English, and commented, by W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1950). The last of the 28 chapters into which it is divided was apparently never written. The chief point on which Ithna-'asharis reject Ṭūsī's authorship is that in his short preface he dedicates it to "his dearest brother Badr ad-Dīn Ḥusayn", while in fact Ṭūsī had no brother of that name. It is, however, well known how much such prefatorial passages are subject to mutilation at the hands of the negligent copyists, and the copies on which the edition was based were modern and very bad. There would be nothing impossible in the supposition that in the original text there were words *barādar-i dīnī* "brother in religion", and these were turned into "Badru'd-dīn". There are many points in it on the basis of which Ṭūsī's authorship seems to be indubitable.

(688) *Sayr wa sulūk*, as it is popularly called. This short treatise on the elements of the Ismaili doctrine has nothing to do with Sufism; its original title was apparently lost. It is dedicated to the head Ismaili *dā'ī* of Quhistan in the second quarter of the vii/xiii c., Quṭbu'd-dīn "*ra'īs*" Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad of Qā'in, himself a learned man and author of books. The treatise was long ago lithographed in Tehran, and recently was edited in his *Majmū'a'i Rasā'il (-i Ṭūsī)* (Tehran, University publications series, no. 308, pp. 36-55) by the eminent Persian specialist on matters connected with Ṭūsī, Prof. Sayyid Taqī Mudarris-i Riḍawī. See also in his most valuable monograph on Ṭūsī, "*Aḥwāl wā Āthār-i ... M. Ṭūsī*" (Tehran, 1334/1956, the same series, no. 282, pp. 322-323). The work does not contain anything new, but references to the *Fuṣūl-i Mubārak*, on which, as the author says, it is based, are interesting. The work is not divided into chapters.



(689) *Risāla dar Tawallā wa Tabarrā*, a very short (two pages) treatise on the affection to the Imams and dissociation from their enemies, from the Ismaili standpoint, composed in Quhistan at the request of a certain Najibu'd-dīn. It contains a laudatory reference to *muḥtasham* Nāṣiru'd-dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. Abī Maṣṣūr (to whom the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* and some other works were also dedicated). See "*Aḥwāl wa Āthār*", p. 323.

(690) *Maṭlūbu'l-Mu'minīn*. A short elementary treatise on Ismaili doctrine, written at the request of a lady of high position (*ḥaḍrat-i 'ulyā*), and based on the *Fuṣūl-i Mubārak*. Prof. Mudarris-i Riḍawī and other Ithna-'asharī scholars do not accept its genuineness, simply because its title, just as the titles of other Ismailitic works by Ṭūsī, are not found in any traditional lists of his compositions. It was edited in 1933 by W. Ivanow in the (now defunct) series of the Islamic Research Association, Bombay, 1933.

Doubtful:

(690-A) *Mir'ātu'l-muḥaqqiqīn*, a treatise on *ḥikmat*, what the mediaeval writers called *taṭbīq-i āfāq wa anfus*, the material and spiritual nature. The Badakhshani tradition (which can never be trusted) insists that it is one of the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. This seems to be highly improbable, judging from both the style and the language of the work. Sometimes it is attributed to Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ṭūsī, and this seems to be more probable. The manner, the expert hand, which is seen in every line, and the predilection to short pamphlets, complete in themselves, vividly resembles Ṭūsī's other known works of this kind. Moreover, I have noticed in a few cases the use of the particle *hā*, which also appears in other works of Ṭūsī, as the *Rawḍatu't-taslīm*. Specialists on Ṭūsī's works deny its connection with him because the title does not appear in the known lists of his works. This however, is no decisive proof, because the work may have been there, only mentioned under a different title (e. g. *Risāla dar āfāq wa anfus*). It is divided into seven chapters (*bāb*): *nafs*, *'aql*, *mabda' wa ma'ād*, *ālam-i buẓurg wa kūchik*, *taṭbīq-i āfāq wa anfus*, etc. It was lithographed in Bombay, A. H. 1333, and also in Persia. There is nothing in it directly connected with Ismailism.

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Nizârî Quhistânî, ḥakīm Na‘îmu’d-dîn Quhistânî, of Birjand, born about 645/1247, as he mentions himself in his *Dastûr-Nâma*, d. about 720/1320. He is chiefly known as a lyrical poet, the author of a *Diwân* of *ghazals*, “predecessor of Ḥâfîz”. In his works he is very cautious in expressing his Ismailî ideas. Copies of his works are not common, as far as his *Diwân* is concerned, and of his *Kulliyât*, which includes *all* his *mathnawîs* apparently only one is in existence. His *mathnawîs* of moralising contents find much less appreciation amongst the Persians. Apparently no copies are preserved amongst the Persian-speaking Ismailis, either in Persia or Badakhshan.

(691) *Diwân*,—*qaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *tarjî‘-bands*, *qit‘as*, short *mathnawîs*, over three hundred pages, referring to the names of various persons whom the author lauds.

(692) *Adab-Nâma*, a lengthy moralising *mathnawî* poem of about 60 large pages.

(693) *Mathnawî*, without any title, beginning with the praise of Sharafu’d-dîn “ḥakīm-i ‘aṣr”. An additional short *mathnawî* at the end.

(694) *Safar-nâma*, apparently the most interesting piece of his poetry, a *mathnawî*, narrating his journey from Khûsp, a town near Birjand, still in existence, to Baku in the Transcaucasia, for what we may conclude was the *didâr*, paying homage, to the Imam of that time. Late Prof. C. Saleman, of St. Petersburg, intended to edit it from the unique copy of the *Kulliyât* (transcribed in 837/1433) preserved in the Public Library (now) Leningrad, but the work still remains unedited on account of the “dog in the manger” policy, for some reason adopted by the authorities of that institution. They neither edit it themselves, nor allow any one to have photostats or microfilms of it.

(695) *Dastûr-Nâma*, a *mathnawî* of 576 *bayts*, was edited and translated into Russian by the late Prof. E. Berthels, in the periodical called *Vostochniy Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1926, pp. 37-104), from the old copy mentioned above. It is a rather dull work of the type which becomes more common later on in the course of the development of the Nizari literature, namely a mixture of

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the Ismaili and Sufic speculations. Therefore the poem was often treated as Sufic, and imitated by later poets. But those conversant with Nizari Ismailism can easily recognise certain typical Ismaili ideas, although cautiously camouflaged in Sufic verbiage.

(696) *Azhar wa Muzhir*, a lengthy *mathnawī* poem of approximately similar kind as the preceding one, in the metre of Nizāmi's famous poem *Khusraw-u Shirin*. Here also one must have sound acquaintance with Ismailism in order to separate the Sufic symbolic shell from the most ordinary Ismaili ideas.

(697) *Rubā'iyāt*, a collection of quatrains which seem to be occasionally varying in different copies.

Works of Nizari are very interesting for the student of Nizari Ismailism because they come from the period from which we have almost no information. Therefore they well deserve a careful study by a properly equipped person. Unfortunately, so far they attracted only inexperienced beginners who knew nothing of Ismailism generally and Nizari literature in particular. They hunted for revelations about Sufism, while here Sufism was merely a camouflage. This also applies to the work by a young Russian student, Ch. K. Baradiyn, published in Persian in the sixth vol. of the *Farhang-i Īrān-Zamīn* (Tehran, 1959, *daftar* 2-3, pp. 177-203).

(698) A titleless work, by an anonymous author, quite popular in the Badakhshan (in a wider sense) area. Some Badakhshanis assure us that its title is *Naṣā'ih-i Mu'min*, but this title was not found in any of the three copies which I saw, and generally such titles, based on tradition and memory, almost always prove to be imaginary. It would be much more appropriate to call it *Risāla dar Ta'wil-i Zakāt*, according to the central subject with which it chiefly deals. As to the period to which the work belongs, it is possible to say that its main portion, on the *ta'wil* of the *zakāt*, and the references to the dogmatic system, show a remote antiquity, something like the Qarmatian time. *Nāṭiq*, *Asās*, seven Imams, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl being the Seventh *Nāṭiq*, the meticulous details of the stakes of the *zakāt* on camels, sheep,



goats, etc., with merely passing references to trade and money, indicate a remote period, of purely pastoral economy.

But, at the same time the language, which contains quite many archaisms, cannot be that of the Qarmatian period. Moreover, amongst a few anonymous poetical quotations in the text, there are two from Sa'dî (d. 691/1292), thus suggesting quite a well-developed Nizari period. We must therefore think that either it is an adaptation of an ancient Persian work, slightly "refreshed" in language during the period soon after the fall of Alamut, or a compilation from early, - perhaps Fatimid, - Arabic works on *zakât*. As is well known, such an idea as anachronism as regards the dogmatic theory in evolution, did not exist for mediaeval authors.

The work is not divided into chapters, and no reference to any books is found in it.

(699) *Pandiyât-i Jawân-mardî*. The contents of the sermons of the Nizârî Imam Mustanşir *bi'l-lâh* of Anjudân (d. 885/1480) who had a surname of Shâh-Qalandar, as is still remembered in Anjudân where his mausoleum is still known. The contents, rather aphorisms from his sermons, were remembered by one of his devout followers, who recorded as he recalled them, apparently under the successor of that Imam, 'Abdu's-Salâm. The text of the work, and an English translation, have been published by W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1953, as no. 6 in the series "A" of the Ismaili Society). A detailed introduction deals with the origin of the work. It is necessary to add some remarks to what has been said there. After acquiring an acquaintance with the works of Khayr-khwâh Herâtî (see nos. 705-708), I could see that there is a striking amount of the ideas sponsored by that latter author, especially about the supernatural importance of the *pîr*. Taking into consideration the fundamental differences between various versions of the text, mentioned in the Introduction, it is easy to suspect that the work has passed through the hands of Khayr-khwâh, who had no scruples about "editing" it, and probably ultimately it reached India in his version. It would be very interesting to study properly the old Sindi *transliteration* of the



Persian text (in Khojki script) which appears to be an *abbreviation* of the Persian text. We are rather in the dark regarding the matter, but it is not impossible that the old transliteration has been subsequently brought "to date" with the help of Khayr-khwâh's later version. In any case it is impossible to believe that it was he himself who was the author of the original Persian version, because as he wrote some of his works in 959-960/1552-1553, he could not be an adult at the time of the Imam Mustanşir *bi'l-lâh* who died in 885/1480.

It may be also noted that the subdivision of the work into the *Pandiyât-i Buzurg*, *Pandiyât-i Kûchik*, and *Dawâzdah Jawân-mardî*, although the contents seems to be similar, may also be traced to different versions being combined together at some later date. The term *jawân-mardî*, apparently an attempt to render the original Arabic term *futuwwat*, is quite often used in Sufic literature, but seemingly never met with in old Ismaili works. It is interesting to note that a purely Persian word, with an Arabic Suffix of Plural (as in *dih-dihât*), apparently seemed quite strange to the people of poor literacy, and in many manuscripts one may find *Findiyâd*, or simply *Findiyâ*.

Mawlâ-nâ 'Abdu's-Salâm ibn al-Mustanşir bi'l-lâh of Anjudân, the son and successor of the preceding author. He apparently died not long before 900/1494, but was not buried in the ancestral necropolis in Anjudân,- I have not found his grave there in 1937. Apart of his aphorisms included in the *Pandiyât-i Jawân-mardî*, mentioned just above, and a *qaşîda* in Sufico-Ismaili strain (found in an anthology), some have been preserved:

(700) *Panj Sukhan* (-i) *ki Hadrat-i Shâh ('Abd) as-Salâm farmûdand*, an instructive opusculè of 30 small pages, dealing with the virtues appropriate to good believers. References to *fusûl-i mubâarak*, to (Hasan) *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*, Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, *Faşl-i Fârsiyân*", poets Qâsim Tushtarî, Thanâ'î, and a certain Fakhru'l-muḥaqqiqîn Sharafu'd-dîn Muḥammad.

(701) *Farmân* (-i Shâh 'Abdu's-Salâm), an epistle addressed to the Ismailis of Badakhshan and Kabul who followed the

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Imams of the Mûḥammad-Shâhî line, inviting the erring people to reconsider the grounds for their allegiance and return to the fold of the right line of the Imams, that is to say, the Qâsim-Shâhî. The epistle, found in a *maǧmûʿa* in Kerman, bears the signature of Shâh ʿAbdu's-Salâm and the date 895/1490 (it is, of course a copy, not the original document).

Abû Ishâq (Ibrâhim?) Quhistânî, flourished towards the end of the ix/xv, and in the beginning of the next century, because he mentions as the Imam of his time al-Mustanşir bi'l-lâh (of Anjudân, who died in 885/1480). But it is also possible that al-Mustanşir bi'l-lâh whom he mentions in his book, was the *second* Imam who had the same name, and was better known by his surname Shâh Gharîb, who died in 904/1499. Unfortunately, nothing more can be found about the author's biography, and he is apparently never mentioned in any Ismaili books which are available.

(702) *Haft Bâb-i Bû Ishâq*, as the book is known. It most probably had an original title which was forgotten, pressed out of use by the "camouflaging designation" of "Seven chapters". The book is very rare. It was apparently several times re-edited, the first chapter being replaced with the first chapter of "*Haft Bâb-i Bâbâ Sayyidna*" (see no. 683). But the worst plagiarism was committed by Khayr-khwâh-i Harâtî, who fraudulently turned it into the *Kalâm-i Pîr*, i. e. a composition of Nâsir-i Khusraw (see no. 704, 761). It was edited and translated into English by W. Ivanow, 1959, as no. 10 in the series "A" of the Ismaili Society.

(703) *Ta' rîkh-i Quhistân*. This book is several times referred to in the works of Khayr-khwâh. As Bû Ishâq in his book (p. 42) mentions that he intends to write (a book) in several chapters dealing with the *Fuṣûl-i Mubâarak* and the *khuṭba*, sermon, delivered at the proclamation of the Great *Qiyâmat* in Alamut (559/1164), it may be possible that the lost *Ta' rîkh-i Quhistân* was ultimately written by him, and together with the

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epistles and copies of the sermon of the Imams, sent to Quhistan, dealt also with the events of the Ismaili community there.

“*Khayr-khwâh*” of Harât, or Muḥammad Riḍâ b. Sulṭân Husayn Ghûriyânî Harâtî, born about the end of the ninth/fifteenth c., educated in Mashhad. The date of his death could not be ascertained, but, judging from the dates found in his works, he was writing in or about 959-960/1552-1553. He wrote an amount of prose, and also a lot of (rather inferior) poetry, using the pen-name “Gharîbî”. In his works, both prose and poetry, he often gives references to his biography, from which it is possible to see that his father was an Ismaili dignitary, a sort of a “bishop” of what forms now the Northern Afghanistan. When he was killed by brigands, the Imam appointed in his stead his son, then a very young man. This imbued Khayr-khwâh with inordinate ambition which, probably gradually, developed into his construing a theory according to which a *hujjat*, or *pîr*, as he calls him, automatically becomes, by some supernatural process, almost consubstantial with the Imam. In developing his ideas he did not even stop at plain forgery. It may be admitted that in this he achieved quite an unbelievable success, and his ideas, however unsound from the standpoint of the original Ismaili doctrine, were widely accepted; the book which he forged has become one of the most sacred books of the Ismailis of Badakhshan, as it remains so to this day.

(704) *Kalâm-i Pîr*, otherwise known as the *Haft-bâb-i Shâh Sayyid Nâsir* (that is to say, of Nâsir-i Khusraw). In reality it has nothing whatever to do with the latter, and is a most shamelessly and crudely forged version of the book by an author of the end of the ix/xv c., Abû Ishâq Quhistânî, known as *Haft-bâb-i Bû Ishâq* (see above no. 702). Both the *Kalâm-i Pîr* and the *Haft-bâb-i Bû Ishâq* have been edited and translated into English by W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1935 and 1959). The plagiarist filled it up with quotations from various Ithna-‘ashari works, especially those of the Safawid period. The latest that may be identified is the well-known work by ‘Alî b. Ḥusayn Wâ‘iz Kâshifî, the *Latâ’ifu’l-Tawâ’if*, written not before 937/1530. It is



full of the fanatical spirit of the militant Safawid Ithna-‘ashari Shi‘ism. Nâsir-i Khusraw, the follower of the moderate school of the Fatimid Ismailism, would be horrified had he lived to read this work, fraudulently given out as his production.

(705) *Risâla’i Khayr-khwâh*. The work apparently had no special title, and is sometimes called “*Risâla dar haqîqât-i Pîr*”. It is not divided into chapters. A portion of this work, together with the 27th *qiṭ‘a* of the next work, was lithographed by a certain Sayyid Munîr, in Bombay, 1333/1915, under the title of *Kitâb-i Khayr-khwâh Muwaḥḥid-i Waḥdat* (now long since out of print). The work offers a certain amount of theorising on the subject of the “*Pîr*” by whom the author implies the rank of what in the Fatimid Ismailism was the *bâb*, and which in the Nizari branch did not exist. As has been mentioned above, from what the *hujjat* was in the Fatimid time, - one of the 24 high dignitaries, the author tries to make something like a duplicate Imam. He then comes to his own biography and the journey to an interview with the Imam (this portion, to the end, was not printed by Sayyid Munîr).

(706) *Qiṭ‘ât*. Another title-less work by the same author, consisting of 27 *qiṭ‘as*, as they are called by him, of varying length. It would be better to class them as what may be called “pastoral epistles”, referring to the affairs of the community headed by the author, with occasional theorising or moralising. The 27th *qiṭ‘a* differs from the first 26, and has a special title “*Dar Bayân-i Pîr-shinâsi*”. It is not certain whether these 27 *qiṭ‘as* are intended as a continuation of the preceding *risâla*, or not. They abruptly begin with *Qiṭ‘a’i awwal*, and there is no colophon. At the end of the 27th *qiṭ‘a* there is another “extension”, which has the heading “*Faṣl dar bayân-i Shinâkht-i Imâm*”, and again it is not clear whether it is to be regarded as a part of the 27th *qiṭ‘a* or an independent work. In any case it is in circulation as an independent opusculum.

(707) *Dîwân-i Gharîbî*. Poetry of Khayr-khwâh, chiefly *ghazals* of purely lyrical contents, as was the fashion during the Safawid time, is quite unbearably banal. Towards the end there are several *mathnawîs*, also edited by myself, together



with the two works mentioned above, in the series of the Ismaili Society "A", no. 13 (Teheran, 1961, under the title "*Tasnífât-i Khayr-khwâh-i Herâtî*"). I hope to publish soon a translation of the first two works, but not of Khayr-khwâh's poetical works which do not deserve a translation.

(708) *Faṣl dar Bayân-i Shinâkht-i Imâm wa Hujjat*, etc. It was the first of the author's works which was edited and translated, in 1922, by myself, in the VIII-th vol. of the "Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal", Calcutta. The text and the translation were later re-edited in the series "B" of the Ismaili Society (B-3, B-4 and B-11). In fact, although short, it is of more value than the lengthy theorising in the *Risâla*, and appears a good summary of the author's ideas. The student may understand, however, that Khayr-khwâh's works by no means reflect the standard and entirely "orthodox" version of the Persian Nizari Ismailism.

Amrî Shîrâzî, Abû'l-Qâsim Kûhpâya'î, was a poet and educated man in the service of Shâh Tahmâsp Şafawî (930-984/1524-1576), by whose order he was in 973/1565 blinded and exiled to Shiraz on the charge of heresy (*iḥād*). He was executed on the same charge by Shâh 'Abbâs I in 999/1591. Cf. *Riyâdu'sh-shu'arâ*, by 'Alî-Qulî Wâlih Dâghistânî, and the '*Arafâtu'l-Âshiqîn*, by Taqîyyu'd-dîn Aḥmad Balyânî (in Dr. S. Kiyâ's "*Nuṭawîyân yâ Pasîkhâniyân*", Tehran, pp. 58-61). Due to this tragic fate his poetry was never collected, and only isolated poems are incidentally found in anthologies. I was lucky to find some in Ismaili albums. In one of these he gives the date of composition Şafar 987/April 1579. Dr. S. Kiyâ for some reason treats him as a *Nuṭawî*, but in his poems, written with obvious caution in Sufic style, Amrî very transparently eulogises "Nûru'd-dîn" and "Murâd-Mîrzâ" which most certainly were the names of the Nizari Ismaili Imams of Amrî's time (the 35th and 36th, according to their traditional sequence). The Ismailis regard Amrî as their co-religionist, which is very likely to be true.

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(709) *Ash'âr-i Amrî*. Apparently nothing appears in those which I read to prove that the author was a Hurûfî or Nuqṭawî. In one of the poems he clearly expresses apprehension that he may *again* suffer at the hands of his persecutors.

(710) *Bayân-i Sharî'at*, a treatise of about forty pages in the later Sufico-Ismaili style, composed in 1043/1634 (the author says that the title of the work, in the numerical value of the letters of which it is composed, gives the date of its completion). The name of the author was probably mentioned on the first leaf which has been lost. It is included in a *majmû'a* in I. I. Zarubin's collection of Ismaili manuscripts, brought by him from Shughnân in 1916 (now in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad), see W. Ivanow, "The Ismaili MSS in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences", in the "Bulletin of the Academy", 1917, p. 374. The author intended to subdivide the work into four *wasls*, but only the first *wasl* is marked. He is very lavish in poetical quotations from many famous poets, some of whom rarely figure in Ismaili works, such as Jâmî, Âdharî, but the most interesting is a reference to the important Chishtî *shaykh* of Dehli, Nizâmu'd-dîn Awliyâ (d. in 725/1325). This may indicate an Indian origin of the treatise.

Khâkî Khurâsânî, with the name Imâm-Qulî, a farmer from Dizbâd-i Bâlâ, a village in the mountains between Nishapur and Mashhad, a day's journey on horseback from either of these places. As may be seen from his poetry, he was a man of considerable talent, although never trained in the technique of his art. He was a devout Ismaili, was cruelly tortured by persecutors, but survived the ordeal. His grave is still shown in one of the numerous gardens in Dizbâd. Unfortunately, there is no tombstone, and, consequently, no definite date of his demise. Dates in his poetry, which he, fortunately, gives now and then, range between 1037/1627 and 1056/1646, thus covering the reigns of the Safawides Şafî (1037 - 1052/1628 - 1642) and 'Abbâs II (1052 - 1077/1642 - 1667). Local tradition invariably confuses (as often



happens in Persia) this Second Shâh ‘Abbâs with ‘Abbâs I, who is apparently not referred to in the poetry.

The poet finds it possible to refer to Anjudân (as the residence of the Imams) and also to the successive Imams of his time, namely Shâh Dhû'l-fiqâr, and his son and successor (cf. verse 314 of the edition), Shâh Khalîlu'l-lâh Nûru'd-dahr (in a ghazal in which the date 1056/1646 is referred to). In addition he mentions the person whom he calls Mîr ‘Imâdu'd-dîn Ḥasan (verse 1273) and in another place (verses 1179 and 1419) Darwîsh Rustam. The highly eulogical terms used by him suggest that the first was the Imam of the time when that particular piece of poetry was written. It was during the Safawid period a common practice that various persons, and even Ismaili Imams, were for the sake of *taqiyya* affiliated to some of the powerful Sufic orders of the time, according to custom assuming a special “darwîsh name”, something like the Darwîsh Rustam mentioned above. The matter is interesting, but the materials at our disposal are not sufficient to clarify it.

Khâkî's poetry is what the Persians call ‘*awwâmâna*, popular, as opposed to the high class poetry by recognised masters. It thoroughly bears the stamp of the Safawid “militant (and abusive) Shi‘ism”, pouring curses left and right, which makes it quite unprintable in the countries with Sunnite population. At the same time his poetry shows that it is not so much infected by the slavish imitation of Sufic models. It consists of a *Dîwân* of ghazals, several long *qaṣîdas* and *mathnawîs*.

(711) *Dîwân-i Khâkî*, a collection of ghazals, alphabetically arranged, over 2000 *bayts*. Occasionally rural forms of the Khorasani dialect are met with. I searched long for a really old copy, repeatedly visiting Dizbâd, but failed. Copies are rare, and usually made by people of little literacy. This *dîwân* was apparently till recently entirely unknown amongst the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus districts.

(712) *Nigâristân*, a lengthy *qaṣîda*, a religious and moralising poem, or a chain of poems, substantially flavoured by Sufic symbolism, altogether about 980 *bayts*. It is not entirely clear whether the title belongs to the whole, or only to the first section in this series.



(713) *Tarjî 'band*, about 120 *bayts*, the best known of Khâkî's poems of this kind, of smaller size.

(714) *Bahâristân*, a *qaṣîda* of 79 *bayts*, divided into five *faṣls*, dealing with: 1. symbolism of numbers in the Universe; 2. Adam and Satan; 3. *dawrs* in the world's history; piety in general, etc.; 4. *igrâr* and *inkâr* of *Ḥaqq*; 5. *dîn*.

(715) *Ṭulû 'u'sh-shams*, or *Ṭawâlî 'u'sh-shumûs*, a lengthy *math-nawî* of about 1300 *bayts*, composed in 1055/1645, and apparently left unfinished. It is divided into seven *bâbs*, although there are many repetitions, either owing to the author having not sufficiently revised his poem when completed, or owing to the negligence of copyists. *Bâbs*: 1. *Imâm*, *Shâh-i zamân*; 2. *Imâm-i mustaqarr*; 3. *Imâm-i mustawda'*; 4. *fawâ'id-i mutafarriqa*; 5. *mabda' wa ma'âd*; 6. *khâtima'i maktûb*; 7. *Lâ Makân (Deity)*. The latest *bâb* largely repeats the contents of the second *bâb*.

It took probably much daring to speak about such subjects, even with a thin colouring of the Sufic vagueness. His ideas on Ismailism appear to be substantially influenced by the writings of Khayr-khwâh-i Harâtî, which were probably known to him. In any case there is much coincidence in the ideas with those of the *Faṣl dar bayân-i shinâkht-i Imâm* (see no. 708). Many references to Sufic poets.

Raqqâmî Dizbâdî (or *Khurâsânî*), the son of the preceding author. His name was 'Alî-Qulî. Nothing is available as regards his biography, but I was lucky in having an opportunity to microfilm the autograph copy of his *dîwân* of poems. It belongs to a farmer of Qâsimâbâd, a village in about two miles from Dizbâd. I was assured that it was in the handwriting of the author himself, and it took much effort to make the present owner to lend it to me for photographing. *Raqqâmî* certainly was no match for his father, either in talent or education. His spellings are atrocious, and Arabic quotations (very rare) are hopeless. Having looked through the whole of his book, I could find no dates or references to persons (except for Biblico-Coranic personages).

(716) *Dîwân-i Raqqâmî* about 700 (!) pages scribbled in minute handwriting. The predominant majority of poems are

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lyrical ghazals, of the most banale kind. A few *mathnawīs*, *qit'as*, *tarjī'-'bands*, and a profusion of *rubā'īs* (quatrains, but alas, not of Khayyam's quality). Although his *diwān* will not expand our knowledge of Ismailism, it is valuable as a genuine sample of the mentality of the average mediaeval Persian Ismaili in what may be called his raw condition, not polished by theological and philosophical studies. And the fact that is noteworthy is that Raqqāmī's creations so closely resemble the poetry of Fidā'ī Khurāsānī, his fellow-countryman, who lived 300 years later, and was a well educated man (cf. 735-A).

(717) *Qaṣīda'i Dhurriyya*, a versified list of the successive Nizārī Imams, the best, if not the only, well-known creation of the author, most probably much polished in the process of long circulation. It was partly edited and translated by myself (Ismailitica, II, Calcutta, 1922), and in full by A. Semenov, with a Russian translation («Iran» II, 1928, pp. 1-24). He regarded it as a work of Khāḳī, to whose authorship it is attributed in some manuscripts.

Mawlā-nā Shāh Nizār, according to the traditional succession of the Nizārī Imams was the 40th in the line. He died, according to the inscription on the tombstone on his grave in Kahak (a small village N. W. from Maḥallāt) on the 4th Dhī'l-hijja 1134/14 - ix - 1722, thus not very long before the Afghan invasion in the next year. He was, according to tradition, associated with the Sufic order of the Ni'matu'l-lāhīs, being widely known under the name of 'Aṭā'u'l-lāh, and it is after him that Ismailis in certain villages in the district of Sirjān, in the Kerman province, are called 'Aṭā'u'l-lāhīs.

(718) *Qaṣīda'i Shāh Nizār*. It is difficult to say whether his writings are somewhere preserved. I was able to find only one *qaṣīda* attributed to him, in an album of poetry by different authors. It is written in the usual Safawid quasi-Sufic style.

Mīrzā Aḥmad Wiqār Shīrāzī was born about 1235/1820, and died in Shīrāz in Shawwāl, 1298/Sept., 1881. *Tarā'iqu'l-ḥaqā'iq*



gives a detailed account of him on pp.168-9 of the third part. He was in India in 1268/1852, enjoying at Bombay the hospitality of the first Āghâ Khân. Probably not an Ismaili.

(719) *‘Ibrat-afzâ*, a biography of the first Āghâ Khân, Ḥasan-‘Alî Shâh, and the story of his arrival in India. The work is written in simple prose, and the narrative is in the first person, as if by the Āghâ Khân himself. The work was lithographed in Bombay in 1278/1861. It was translated into Gujrati and printed about the same date. Copies are exceedingly rare because the paper decayed owing to climatic conditions.

(720) *R. dar Insâni Kâmil*, or *R. dar ‘Irfân*, a treatise on Sufic or Ismailitic *ma‘rifat*, apparently by the same Wiqâr (though there is no explicit indication in the text). It is vague and probably intentionally obscure. Lithographed together with the preceding work.

Shihâbu‘d-dîn Khalîlu‘l-lâh b. ‘Alî Shâh, the elder half-brother of the late H. H. the Agha Khan, died in his early thirties on the 5th or 6th Dec. 1884. From his works he appears as a highly educated and refined writer in Persian, in the style of the middle of the XIX-th c. He was expected to succeed as the Imam his father, Shâh ‘Alî Shâh, who died a few months after him.

(721) *Khiṭâbât-i ‘Āliyya* (or *al-Khiṭâbât al-‘Āliyya*), a treatise in Persian on the principles of the Ismaili doctrine, and on ethics in general. It is divided into 64 chapters called *khiṭâb*, but this term should not be taken in a literal sense, and the book is no collection of sermons. Twenty two chapters are devoted to the basic points in the Ismaili doctrine; further the author touches on the esoteric matters, on pîr-ship, the *nûrâniyyat* of the Imams, *ta‘wîl* of the basic prescriptions of the *shar‘at*, some religious observances, and then the question of the *naṣṣ* (sermons 36-43), and the sequence of the Imams. He refutes the aspersions cast by the enemies of Ismailism on the genuineness of the descent of the Nizari Imams, such as that of the founder of the Fatimid empire, al-Mahdî, whom the Abbasid propaganda absurdly presented as the son of ‘Abdu‘l-lâh b. Maymûn al-Qaddâh. The next

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was the case of Ḥasan 'alā dhikri-hi's-salām of Alamut, and finally the Imams after Shāh Gharīb. The author refers to the well-known histories, such as *Ta'rikh-i Guzīda*, *Uyūn al-Akhhbār* of al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh-i Firishta*, etc. Further the author entirely concentrates on ethical principles, recommending the usual virtues and condemning sin and evil behaviour. The work was in any case composed *before* 1880, the date of the death of the first Agha Khan, Ḥasan- 'Alī Shāh, referred to in the text as still living. This work is edited by Hūshang Ujâqī (Teheran, 1963). An English translation is being prepared.

(722) *Risāla dar ḥaqīqat-i dīn*. A short (75 pages) treatise, perhaps left incomplete, preserved in an apparently autograph copy, which was reproduced photographically (two impressions), lithographed, and translated into English by W. Ivanow. Contrary to the preceding work, the Ismaili element is not treated explicitly. The work is apparently intended for the general reader rather than Ismaili students, and therefore deals with the subjects of ethics in a Sufic strain.

(723) *Naṣṣ-i ḥ-i Sarkār-i Pīr*. A short sermon, six pages long, on the same ethical matters, in the same strain as the preceding two works. The author is called *pīr* in the heading because he was officially regarded as the *Hujjat*, or *pīr*, according to the terminology of the Indian Khojas.

Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Ya'qūb Shāh b. Ṣūfi Qā'inī Khurāsānī, the grandfather of the notorious Mīrzā Murād of Se-deh, a village between Qā'in and Birjand. He flourished about the middle of the XIX-th c. In his poetry he used the pen-name "*Ḥusayn*". Although thus he had no connection with the Upper Oxus region in Central Asia, his works show many traces of his acquaintance with the *Ummu'l-Kitāb* (see no. 929) and its terminology (*dīwān*, 'Azāzi'il, various *rūhs*, *naqībān*, *najībān*, and so forth). As the *Ummu'l-Kitāb* appears to be unknown in Khorasan, it may be a chance meeting with Central-Asian Ismailis in Bombay, where he possibly was on a pilgrimage, which was responsible for his acquaintance with that ancient work.



(724) *Munâjât-i Husayn*, in prose, a series of pious invocations, apparently having as their prototype similar darwish recitations, used during their religious ceremonies. Such invocations apparently were unknown to mediaeval Ismaili communities.

(725) *Tazyînu'l-majâlis*, sermon and invocations to be recited during the *shab-i yaldâ*, again a trace of the influence of Central-Asian Tajiks, or darwishes and 'Alî-Ilâhîs of the Western Persia.

(726) *Maw'izâ'i shab-i yaldâ*, another sermon to be delivered on the same occasion.

(727) *Qaṣida fî sâ'at-i Nawrûz-i Sulṭânî*, with a prose preamble.

(728) *Maw'izâ fî's-sâ'at al-mubâarak*, sermon of felicitation on the occasion of the Nawrûz celebrations.

(729) *Qaṣida fî 'îdî'l-Fiṭr*, with addition of a sermon exhortating the payment of the *zakât*, and explaining the *ta'wîl* of the fast of Ramaḍân as abstaining from divulging the doctrine of Ismailism to the uninitiated.

(730) *Qaṣida'i 'îdu'l-Aḍḥâ*, a similar poem celebrating the festival of sacrifice, and a suitable sermon, of religious and instructive contents, explaining the *ta'wîl* of its implications.

(731) *Qaṣida fî awrâdî'l-mu'minîn*, a didactic poem in Sufic strain, with little concerning the Ismaili ideas.

(732) *Ṣifâtul-mu'minîn*, another poem, a *mathnawî* of about 392 *bayts*, dealing with the ideal qualities which a true believer should strive to attain. Apparently composed for the general public, not specially for the Ismaili readers.

Sayyid Sulaymân Badakhshânî, apparently a writer of the first half of the XIX-th c. Shihâbu'd-dîn Shâh (see no. 721) refers to his work in his *Khiṭâbât*, composed before 1880. No reliable biographical information is available.

(733) *Shâh-nâma* (or *Jang-nâma*), a huge versified history, legends, composed in imitation of Firdawsî's *Shâhnâma*. Manuscripts of it seem to be very rare.



Muhammad Taqî b. ‘Alî Riḍâ b. Zaynî’l-‘âbidîn Maḥallâtî who lived in India, and died about 1900 in Maḥallât. He was probably not an Ismaili himself.

(734) *Âthâr-i Muḥammadi*, a history of Ismailism and the family of the Âghâ Khâns. The autograph copy, which was intended for presentation to H. H. the late Âghâ Khân, and dated Maḥallât, Rajab, 1310/Jan., 1893, is at present preserved in the library of the Sunni Jum‘a Masjîd, Bombay. How it found a way there, is obscure. The work is about 440 pages long, and is divided into four *aşls*; each *aşl* is subdivided into several *shâkhas*, or branches. The *first aşl* deals with the history of Ismailism from the beginning to the son of Ruknu‘d-dîn Khûrshâh, Shamsu‘d-dîn Muḥammad. The story is compiled from the well-known Persian histories, and deviates from them only wherever the author commits a mistake, or gives free play to his fantasy. The *second aşl* deals with the period from Islâm Shâh, the 30th Imam, and ends with the narrative of the circumstances immediately preceding the campaign of Ḥasan-‘Alî Shâh, which ultimately brought him to India, whither he arrived on the 4th Rajab, 1256/1-ix-1840. The author’s information is extremely vague, and the stories of the Imams are mostly tissues of platitudes, containing nothing but vague eulogies—no dates, no facts. The general tendency (which was the stimulus to the compilation of the work) was to emphasize the services of the author’s own ancestors. Only here and there he gives some interesting tradition which probably was preserved in his time. The *third aşl*, the most interesting, deals with the biography of Ḥasan-‘Alî Shâh, and ends with the story of his demise. This portion (as also the end of the preceding chapter) is chiefly based on the *‘Ibrat-afzâ* (see no. 719). It differs only in cases when the author adds the oral tradition which he heard from his relatives, the participants in the campaign, or intentionally “smoothes” some passages of the *‘Ibrat-afzâ*, which are too outspoken to suit the laudatory style of his work. The *fourth aşl* begins with the story of Ḥasan-‘Alî Shâh’s burial in the mausoleum of Ḥasanâbâd, in Bombay; a long and detailed account of his family, his brothers, and their relatives (the only part of the

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work in which the author was well informed, claiming to be related to the Âghâ-Khân); then he gives some reminiscences of the accession of the second Âghâ-Khân, 'Alî Shâh; a vague and summary account of the life of the latter; his death and burial; a detailed account of his family (again showing an "expert hand" in these matters); and, ultimately, a very brief collection of reminiscences of the early years of the deceased Âghâ-Khân, H.H. Sir Sulţân Muḥammad. At the end he adds, in the 9th *shâkha*, an extract from the *Ta'rikh-i Firishta*, concerning the visit of Shâh Tâhir (who himself was not an Imam in this line) to the Deccan, in the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century.

Fidâ'i Khurâsânî, Muḥammad b. Zayni'l-'âbidîn, commonly known as *Hâjî Âkhûnd*, of Dîzbâd-i Bâlâ (the same village as that of Khâkî Khurâsânî, see above, nos. 711-715). He was a very old man when I visited him in July 1918, and died soon after, in 1922. His education he received in one of the Mashhad madrasas, knew Arabic well, but presented nothing outstanding by himself, just an ordinary village Mulla. He tried his hand in writing poetry, but had not much talent.

(735) *Hidâyat-ṭ-Ṭâlibîn*. He compiled, long before 1900, a booklet on the history of Ismailism, on the model, and making much use of, the Persian historical works which were popular at his time. He had no genuine Ismaili works on the subject, and his book contains nothing novel whatsoever. Nevertheless, in the absence of historical literature amongst the Ismailis, even his work was a step forward, and the booklet attained much popularity, being often copied. The booklet fell into the hands of a retired domestic servant in the Aghakhan's family, Mûsâ Khân, son of Muḥammad Khân Khurâsânî, who lived in Bombay and Poona, where he died in 1937. Although he had not much schooling in his young days, he was very fond of reading and copying Ismaili books of which he had a good collection. He also admired Hâjî Âkhûnd's book, but found a great defect in it, on which all Ismailis complained, - it contained almost nothing about the history of the Nizari Imams. Mûsâ Khân, being here-

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ditarily associated with their family, decided to put things right, and by 1910 produced what may be called a second and amplified edition of the book. He had no authentic sources to draw on, and simply incorporated the oral tradition which he knew well, trimming and embellishing it as much as he could. He was very satisfied with his work, but was not cautious, and lent the original and only copy to a very pious and devout Ismaili from the Upper Oxus region, on pilgrimage in Bombay. The pious man stole the book. Years passed before it came to the surface again in 1926 in Russian Turkestan where it was acquired by a Russian official, A. Semenov, who was taking interest in Ismailism. He for years prepared an edition, which, however, appeared only after his death, in 1959, in the series of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow. A. Semenov who apparently has never seen the original version of the book, firmly believed that Mûsâ Khân, whose name appears on the copy, was merely a copyist, not co-author, wrongly regarded the book as the work of "Fidâ'î Khu-râsânî", overlooking a statement on p. 161, where Mûsâ Khân quite clearly calls himself the *râwî*, narrator, compiler. It is a pity that the edition was accompanied by a great amount of advertisement on the part of A. Semenov's admirers who did everything to inflate the importance of the book, thus misleading the students who could not form an independent opinion. The fact is that Mûsâ Khân's devout improvisations on the subject of the history of the Imams have little to do with historical truth.

(735-A) *Ash'âr-i Fidâ'î*. Poems of Hâjî Âkhûnd, in different metres, in the form of *mathnawîs*, *qaşîdas* and *ghazals*. A lengthy *mathnawî* about the manifestations of the Divine Substance in different Imams, in imitation of the well-known *Qaşîda'i Dhur-riyya*, ascribed to Khâkî, or his son Raqqâmî, see above, no. 717. *Naşîhat-Nâma*, of didactic contents. *Qaşîda'i Nigâristân*, another lengthy *mathnawî*, the same as edited by A. Semenov in "Iran", vol. III, pp. 51-70. Etc. All this is very monotonous, in general Shi'ite spirit, with occasional eulogies of the late H. H. the Agha-khan, Sir Sulţân Muḥammad Shâh.

Jalâlî Bukhârî, i. e. Sayyid Jalâlî Shâh b. Muk'hî Shâh Kalân, a native of Punyâl, near Gilgit (he himself does not men-



tion the exact place from which he comes). He came all the difficult way down to Bombay for the *dîdâr*, or pilgrimage, only to wait almost hopelessly for the arrival of H.H. the late Agha-khan. As it may be seen from his book, he has ultimately given up his waiting, and wrote a book, certainly for submitting it to H.H. He complains that his Bombay co-religionists have not given him any co-operation; but, fortunately, he found a Hindu willing to help him, who for 200 rupees made his book lithographed. Of course, it was a poor man's show, and certainly nothing could be ascertained whether he got any benefit from it, and what finally has happened to him. According to information from his fellow-countrymen, he died about 20 years ago, that is to say about 1940.

(735-B) *Faḍīlat-Nāma*, lithographed in Bombay, 10 Jum. II 1345/16-xii-1926, 144 pages. The author mentions his being fully conscious of the imperfection of his Persian, and his lack of skill. The work is not divided into chapters, and consists of pious theorising, reinforced by quotations from some Ithna-ashari works, from the *Mathnawī* of Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī and some other Persian poets. The Ismaili element is not very prominent in it. Although of no value as a literary work, it presents an interesting "historical document" of the mentality of the Upper Oxus sectarians.

Sayyid Nādir Khān b. Gauhar Khān Kayānī, the present *mukhī*, or parish president, of Kabul, born about 1900. He is a petty tribal headman in the Pasha'ī speaking district North-East of Kabul. In his younger days he used to write poetry in Persian which is a foreign language for him.

(736) *Dīwān*, chiefly of ghazals, with a number of *rubā'īs*. It was lithographed in Bombay in 1932, by some of his friends, themselves not strong in Persian. Therefore many passages are not quite intelligible. This poetry is entirely in the style of erotical symbolism, and does not plainly touch on matters of Ismailism.



(737) *Dîwân-i Payâm-i Shimâl*, another experiment of the author, also lithographed in Bombay (no date, but later than the preceding work). It contains ghazals, *mathnawîs* (*Dar Ta'wîl-i Bismî'l-lâh*, *munâjât*, etc.) It is edited better than the preceding one, and is more dealing with the matters relating to the Ismaili *hikmat*.

Popular works of uncertain date.

(738) *Jang-nâma'i Sîstân*, an apology of Ismailism in the form of a story of an orthodox Sunni king of Sistan who plans an attack on the Ismailis, and ultimately becomes himself converted to Ismailism. The piece seems to be old, in any case belonging to pre-Safawid period. A prince (*malik*) of Sistan, at the time eighty five years old, says that it was his dream to go on pilgrimage to Mekka, and to fight the Ismailis who were in possession of the principality of Ṭabas, in Central Persian desert. To earn blissful existence in the hereafter, he picks up what appeared to him to be easier at his age, nameiy crushing the Ismailis of Ṭabas. Despite the admonitions of a wise adviser, he mobilises an impressive armed force, which is utterly defeated, with immense losses, while the Ismailis lose only two men, taken as prisoners. The two prisoners are brought before the prince, enter into a contest with learned theologians, and convincingly prove that Ismailism is based on the Coran and *ḥadîths*, and that there is nothing in its doctrine that clashes with Islamic orthodoxy. All are convinced and adopt Ismailism as the true form of Islam.

The whole story, with its tone of a religious fairy tale, contains nothing to help us ascertain the date of its composition, and it seems almost beyond doubt that it was "developed" in the course of time by various additions, belonging to later periods. The language in some places contains certain archaisms. Copies of this tale are fairly common, especially in the Upper Oxus regions.

(739) *Chihil Dunyâ*, or *Naql-i Chihil Dunyâ*, fantastical religious story in extremist Shi'ite spirit, undoubtedly of the well-



developed Safawid period, glorifying 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭ'ālīb as pre-eternal Light and Divine Being. 'Alī narrates to the Prophet about the "forty worlds" which he visited. There are also references to the beginning of Islam and intrigues of the enemies of 'Alī who persecuted "Fārsiyān" (Shi'ites) in Medina, and so forth. The whole thing ends in a popular apology of Ismailism, with a special emphasis on the necessity of the paying of *zakāt* for spiritual progress.

The language is fairly modern, and there are many poetical quotations in Shi'ite spirit, many references to darwishes and Sufic speculations. The name of the author is not mentioned, and it is quite possible that in this we have an originally Ithna-'ashari and Sufic production which was "Ismailized" by an enterprising anonymous author.

Nazīrī, a Shi'ite poet of probably later Safawid period, of uncertain date. It is difficult to believe that this *Nazīrī* is the same person as *Nazīrī Nishāpūrī* (d. 1021/1613, cf. E. G. Browne, "Persian Literature in modern times", p. 252), who later emigrated to India, and was appreciated in an entirely Sunnite milieu in Gujrat.

(740) *Qaṣida'i Chihil Dunyā Ḥadrat-i Amīru'l-mu'minīn 'Alī karrama'l-lāh (wajha-hu)*. A poem glorifying Imam 'Alī. Unfortunately, in my copy the poem is incomplete, and it is impossible to compare it with the prose piece mentioned just above.

(741) *Sargudhasht-i Sayyid-nā*. This is the well-known legendary account of the adventures of Sayyid-nā, that is to say, Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ, contained in the *tadhkiras* and historical works of the Safawid time. It contains the familiar story of the "school fellows", the purchase of the stronghold of Alamut in the style of the Carthage queen Dido, etc. This version is rather short, and does not contain the story of Ḥasan's becoming a wazir in Baghdad, and certain other episodes, familiar from more complete versions. It has little to do with the original *Sargudhasht-i Sayyid-nā* which was perused by Juwaynī and Rashīd Ṭabīb in his *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh*.



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THE ALAMUT SCHOOL

(742) *Gawhar-rîz*. A legendary story of Nâsir-i Khusraw's travels in the East, a kind of a supplement and counterpart to his famous *Safar-nâma*. Despite all my efforts I could not get a copy of it, but was most positively assured by many Badakhshanis about its existence. There would be nothing impossible that a collection of imaginary stories was composed by some one in modern times, because, as far as is possible to see, the regions of the Upper Oxus apparently never knew the genuine *Safar-nâma*, until a lithographed edition was brought by pilgrims visiting Bombay for the *didâr* of the Aghakhan.

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2. The Conservative School

Nâsir-i Khusraw. The famous Persian poet and theosophist, Abû Mu'in Nâsir b. Khusraw b. al-Ḥârith al-Qubâdiyânî al-Marwazî al-Balkhî, was born in 394/1004, and died some time after 480/1087, perhaps really in 498/1104 (cf. W. Ivanow, "Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography", Bombay, 1956, pp. 15-16). His known works were all composed between 444/1052 and 462/1070, and therefore he must be regarded as an author of the classic Fatimid period. However, his name is never mentioned in the works of the Fatimid literature, so far as it is possible to see. Musta'lians of India definitely regard him as a Nizari, possibly because they think that all that was written in Persian in Ismaili literature belonged to the Nizari phase. There would have been nothing impossible in the belief that towards the end of his long life Nasir joined the Nizari side. But, dealing with his *known* works, we are obliged to treat him in the same way as other Ismaili authors of the period before the Nizari-Musta'lian split (487/1094).

Much has been written about Nasir, but his biography still remains full of insoluble obscurities. I have dealt at length with his literary production (See my "Problems etc."), so that here only short notes may be sufficient.

Nasir's works may be roughly divided into two groups: the works which have been preserved in the Ismaili milieu in the districts along the Upper Oxus, and apparently have never undergone the censorship of the orthodox divines who deleted matter relating to Ismaili religion. Such a group is small: *Rawshandî Nâma*, *Wajh-i Dîn*, *Shish Fasl*, and a certain number of his lyrics (but not the whole *Diwân*). The second group comprises the *Safar-Nâma*, and all the known bigger works, with the greater part of the *Diwân*. Nothing, of course, may be said of the works known only by their titles.

(743) *Rawshandî Nâma*, a didactic poem, edited several times and several times translated into different languages, exists



in several versions. Although there hardly may be serious doubts as to Nasir's authorship in this case, the date of its composition still remains uncertain. Although I have not made any special study of the question, it seems to me the most probable as given in some Badakhshani manuscripts, should be 444/1053.

(744) *Wajh-i Dîn*, the only work of Nasir in the tradition of the Fatimid *da'wat* treatises, dealing with the *ta'wîl* of forms of worship and various other religious matters. The genuineness of Nasir's authorship is well attested by the *K. Bayânî'l-Adyân*, by Nasir's contemporary Abû'l-Ma'âlî Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydî'l-lâh (wrote in 485/1092). Unfortunately, the work does not contain any reference to Nasir's sources, or any dates, persons, or localities. It is divided into 51 *guftârs*, of varied length.

(745) *Shish Faṣl* (or *Rawshanâ'î-Nâma'î nathr*), ed. and translated by W. Ivanow (Bombay and Cairo, 1949), an elementary and concise treatise on Ismailism. The reason why it has received the same title as that of the well-known poem, remains uncertain.

Works preserved in a non-Ismaili milieu:

(746) *Safar-Nâma*, the most famous of Nasir's works. It was repeatedly edited and translated into various languages. Contains traces of certain passages being deleted, which have often been discussed. No clear indications of its author's being an Ismaili, nothing «to pin him to his word».

(747) *Gushâ'ish wa Rahâ'ish*, apparently the earliest in the series of Nasir's works on *ḥikmat*, a mixture of popular theosophy, natural science and religious questions. The text has been edited (from a unique manuscript) by Prof. S. Nafici (Bombay, 1950) and a second edition was published by the same, 1961, Tehran. It was translated into Italian by Prof. Pio Filippini Ranconi, Rome, 1951.

(748) *Khwânu'l-Ikhwân*, another work of similar contents as the preceding one. The text was edited by Dr. Yaḥyâ Khashshâb (Cairo, 1940), and a reprint of it appeared in Tehran, 1960.

(749) *Zâdu'l-Musâfirîn*, yet another work of a similar kind on *ḥikmat*, completed in 453/1061. It is twice referred to in the



Dîwân (305,330). It was edited by the late Dr. M. Bazlurrahman (Berlin, 1922), and recently reprinted in Tehran.

(750) *Dîwân* of poetry, sometimes called the *Dîwân-i Hujjat*, after Nasir's pen-name "*Hujjat*". By whom and where the poems were collected - is not known. The only fact is certain that manuscripts preserved in different libraries all substantially vary as to the contents, sometimes with manifest signs of interpolations. The best edition, Tehran 1929, by Sayyid Naṣru'l-lâh Taqawî, with the valuable *muqaddima* by Sayyid Ḥasan Taqîzadeh, was out of print, but has been later reprinted in Tehran, 1335/1951.

(751) *Jâmi'u'l-Hikmatayn*, the latest of the works of Nasir which are available and which preserve the date of composition, here 462/1070. It has been edited from a unique manuscript by Prof. H. Corbin (Teheran, 1953): «Kitab-e Jami' al-Hikmatayn. Le Livre réunissant les deux Sagesse, ou Harmonie de la philosophie Grecque et la Théosophie Ismaélienne». It is a kind of "answers" to a versified series of 91 questions, in the form of a *qaṣida* by an early author Abû'l-Haytham Jurjânî, of whose biography nothing is known.

(752) *Risâla dar Jawâb-i nuwad-u yak Faqara*, or "Explicit", as Prof. H. Corbin calls it, a kind of a synopsis of the preceding work. Its text was edited as an appendix (pp. 563-583) to the edition of the *Dîwân* of 1929. Copies of this work are common in Ismaili villages on the Upper Oxus.

Genuine works of Nâsir-i Khusraw, referred to by him in his known works, but so far copies of which have not been found:

(753) *Dalîlu'l-Mutaḥayyirîn*, perhaps the same as *Kitâbu'd-Dalâ'il*, mentioned in the *K. Bayâni'l-Adyân*, and in the *Khwânu'l-Ikhwân*.

(754) *Kitâb-i Miftâḥ wa Mişbâḥ* (or perhaps two different books, *Miftâḥ* and another *K. Mişbâḥ?*), referred to in the *Shish Faṣl* and in the *Khwânu'l-Ikhwân*.



(755) *Bustānu'l-‘Aql* or *Bustānu'l-‘Uqûl*, referred to in the *Zâdu'l-Musâfirîn* and *Jâmi‘u'l-Hikmatayn*.

(756) *Ikhtiyâru'l-Imâm wa Ikhtiyâru'l-îmân*, referred to in the *Jâmi‘u'l-Hikmatayn*.

(757) *Lisânu'l-‘Âlim* (or *Lisânu'l-‘Âlam?*), ref. *ibidem*.

(758) *‘Ajâ‘ibu’-ş-Şan‘at*, *ibidem*.

(759) *Gharâ‘ibu’l-Hisâb wa ‘Ajâ‘ibu’l-Hussâb*, *ibidem*.

Spurious works wrongly attributed to Nâsir-i Khusraw:

(760) *Sa‘âdat-Nâma*, a didactic poem, wrongly attributed to Nasir. Was originally edited and translated into French by E. Fagnan, ZDMG, 1880, pp. 643-674, and many times re-printed later on. Appended to the Teheran, 1929, edition of the *Dîwân*. The late Maliku’sh-Shu‘arâ’ Bahâr Sabzawârî has proved (in the third vol. of his important work, *Sibk-shinâsî*, p. 189) that it was in fact the work of another person, who apparently was not an Ismaili, namely Nâsir-i Khusraw Sharîf-i Işfahânî (d. 753/1352). The poem evoked much admiration, and was often taken as a model in Persian literature.

(761) *Kalâm-i Pîr* or *Haft-Bâb-i Shâh Sayyid Nâsir-i Khusraw*. Sufficient information about it has already been given, see nos. 702, 704. I take this opportunity to draw again the attention of the reader to the fact that an analysis of the doctrine propounded in it, given by me in the introduction to its edition, “*Kalam-i Pir*”, Bombay 1935, pp. xi-lvii, was written by me while I had at my disposal only a few works of the Nizari literature, and did not know that the book was a fake. In the light of the information which was subsequently forthcoming it appeared that certain conclusions and deductions had to be substantially modified. I am preparing an independent paper which would be the *final* version of such an introduction, and cherish a hope that it may be published soon. The edition of the text, however, is quite all-right, and remains quite reliable. The book itself, as it is, is a very interesting “document” of the Safawid period and of the peculiarities of the mentality of masses. If any one has to take up seriously the study of that book, he must do it continually.



keeping at hand the text of the *Haft Bâb-i Bû Ishâq* for comparison and reference.

Another point to which I may draw attention, also based on the further perusal of the later Persian Nizari literature, is the fact that the *Kalâm-i Pîr*, although it played an important part in Badakhshan (in a wider sense), exercised no influence in its native Ismaili community of Persia, where it was produced, and where it remains unknown, just as its archetype, the *Haft-Bâb-i Bû Ishâq*. Nâsir-i Khusraw's name is revered, but there is nothing resembling a "cult" of this saint that has been known in the Upper Oxus region.

Sayyid Suhrâb Walî Badakhshânî, wrote, as stated in his work itself, in 856/1452 (sometimes the next year). Nothing is known about his biography. The Badakhshani oral tradition, always insensitive to anachronisms, makes him a pupil of Nâsir-i Khusraw. It would be better to describe him as belonging to the movement in the Eastern-most Nizari Ismaili communities of Central Asia, Ismaili "conservatives", who although being to an extent "Alamutized", nevertheless retained in their outlook much from the earlier period. It seems that it would be perhaps possible to regard this tendency particularly characteristic of the Muḥammad-Shâhî circles.

(762) *Sî-u shish ṣaḥîfa*, perhaps also called *Ṣaḥîfatu'n-nâzirîn*, met with in a large number of copies in the Upper Oxus region, but entirely unknown in Persia. It was edited by Hûshang Ujâqî (Tehran, 1961, in the Ismaili Society's Series A, no. 12). It is divided into 36 chapters (*ṣaḥîfas*), dealing with the usual *ḥikmat* subjects of 'aql, nafs, aḥlâk, etc., and elementary religious ideas of Prophetship, Imamat and eschatology. There are traces that the author was acquainted with the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm* (no. 687) whose ideas he tried to express in a popular form, cf. text, pp. 85 - 86.

(763) *Rawḍatu'l-muta'allimîn*, by the same author, mentioned in the preceding work (no. 762). It was apparently a short treatise, as the author calls it *risâla*. Despite a careful search and inquiries, I could never find out whether it is in existence, although



there would be nothing improbable that it exists, but its original title has been forgotten.

Almost exclusively elementary treatises, the authors and the dates of composition of which are unknown.

(764) *Risâla'i Sâda* or *Risâla dar uşûl-i dîn*, divided into five *mas'alas* and twelve *faşls*, an elementary treatise on the ranks of the dignitaries in Ismailism, according to the usual gradation of the *hudûd*. Many quotations of poetry, but the names of the poets are not mentioned.

(765) *Ta'wîl-i haft arkân-i Sharî'at*, a short treatise, eight pages long, divided into seven *mas'alas*, explaining the *ta'wîl* of the prescriptions of the *sharî'at*. Some poetical quotations, names of poets not mentioned.

(766) *Risâla dar Dunyâ wa âkhirat*, a short moralising treatise with many poetical quotations, the latest from Qâsim-i Anwâr (d. 837/1434).

(767) *Bayân-i shinâkht-i haft hudûd-i dîn*, a short note, of two pages only, explaining the ranks of the Ismaili dignitaries.

(768) *Ta'wîlât-i "Gulshan-i Râz"*, an Ismailitic interpretation of some passages from the well-known Sufic poem, *Gulshan-i Râz* by Maḥmûd-i Shabistarî (d. about 720/1320). A note on this work was published by W. Ivanow, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1932, pp. 69 - 78, and the text was edited and translated by Prof. H. Corbin in his «Trilogie Ismaélienne», Tehran, 1961 (pp. 1 - 174, text 132 - 161).

(769) *Risâla dar Ta'wîl*, a chaotic accumulation of notes on various Ismaili and cognate subjects, *fawâ'id-i mutafarriqa*, as the anonymous author writes. No hints as to the date of composition, or the name of the compiler.

(770) *Nûr-nâma*, a Sufic-like discussion of the Light of the Prophet, and such theosophic speculations which seem to be much influenced by the Indian Khoja ideas, probably imported by pilgrims from Bombay. See Semenov, p. 2181 - 2, xiii.



3. Muhammad-Shahi Books

Muḥibb-ʿAlī Qunduzī (?) An author who flourished about 929/1523, in which year the work was transcribed by him. It was copied in a *majmūʿa*, and there are some reasons to think that he was not only a copyist, but also the author of this work. Judging from it, it is possible to say that he was a well-educated man, and his knowledge of Arabic was quite sound.

(771) *Irshāduʾl-Ṭālibīn fī dhikr Aʿimmatiʾl-Ismāʿīliyya*. A treatise of about 19 pages long, deals with the doctrine of Imamāt as Divine guidance for mankind, its religious necessity, its foundation in tradition, its being a permanent institution, etc. The author gives the names of the Imams since the time of the Prophet, the Imams of Alamut, and then comes to the story of the split in the Imams' family, into the Muḥammad-Shāhī and Qāsim-Shāhī lines. He vindicates the rights of the first, the elder line, which he continues to the time at which he was writing, the last name being that of Raḍīyyuʾd-dīn ʿAlī, the father of Shāh Ṭāhīr Dakkanī, who came to India in 926/1520. The reason why the author does not mention the latter probably is that the father was still alive. In his work the author refers to the *Fuṣūl-i Muḥārak* and Naṣīruʾd-dīn (Ṭūsī?) At the end of the work there is an appendix, with the title *Duʿā-y-i taqarrub*, containing the same list of the Imams, in Arabic. Cf. my article, "A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis", JRAS, 1938, pp. 57 - 69.

Ṣadruʾd-dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar b. Shāh Ṭāhīr ad-Dakkanī, an Imam (?) of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line, who flourished in the beginning of the xi/xvii c., and died in 1032/1623 at Awrangābād in the Deccan. No details are available of his biography.

(772) *aṭ-Ṭarīq ilāʾn-Naʿīm*, in Arabic, probably a translation from Persian.

(773) *Kitāb al-Khudāwand ʿAzīz Shāh*. A collection of sayings and epistles (*fuṣūl*) of the Muḥammad-Shāhī Imam ʿAzīz Shāh, realpatidar.com



who lived towards the end of the xi/xvii c. in India, and d. about 1103/1692, at Awrangâbâd. The work is in *Arabic*, and comes from Syria where remnants of this sub-sect are still found. The general contents of the collection is religious and moral instruction. In the sayings of the saint sometimes Persian sentences are quoted «in the original», in queer transcription, just as “*bîr mâ kaftan bîr shumâ kardân*” (*bar mâ guftan, bar shumâ kardân*), which is translated into Arabic by «we have to order, and you have to carry out the order». There are occasional references to *Mawlâ-nâ al-Khudâwand ‘alâ’l-ḥaqq wa’d-dunyâ wa’d-dîn Qâsim Shâh li-dhikri-hi at-ta’zîm*. Also occasional references to Alamut: starvation at the time of *Mawlâ-nâ ‘alâ dhikri-hi’s-salâm*, when Sayyid-nâ (Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ, here called *Bâb*) distributed to the defenders some walnuts and 12 *mithqâls* of barley as daily rations (taken from a historical work, but chronology confused).

The name of the author is not mentioned, but he on the whole imitated the style of the ancient *ḥadîth* literature: «I heard from some servants of the Mawlâ-nâ», or simply «I asked Mawlâ-nâ». Sometimes tradition is offered from the early Imams. A reference is given to Muḥyî’d-dîn al-‘Arabî, the famous Sufic theosophist. The *faṣls* uniformly open with *faṣl min al-laḥẓ ash-sharîf, sharrafa-hu’l-lâh*. Unfortunately, apparently none of them contains any date. The instruction preached is of a primitive nature, with particular stress on prayers, ablutions, and on the strict concealment of the doctrine from those uninitiated.

Ghulâm-‘Alî b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, originating from Ahmad-nagar in the Deccan; he used the pen-name Ghulâm or Ghulâmâ, and completed his work ab. 1110/1698. He wrote in India in the reign of Awrangzîb, and therefore had to observe the maximum of the *taqiyya*. Most unfortunately, he chose for his work a versified form which greatly impeded him to speak sense. Who he was, where he lived, and what was the ultimate purpose of his work, - to all such questions his poem does not provide any answer. Cf. my articles: “An Ismailitic Pedigree” in the Journal of the As. Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 403 - 406, and “A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis” in the JRAS, 1938, pp. 57 - 79.

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MUHAMMAD-SHAHI BOOK

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(774) *Lama'ât at-Ṭâhirîn*. A huge (1162 pages) versified work, subdivided into 110 *lam'as*, chapters (according to the numerical value of the letters composing the name 'Alî). In his gigantomania the author produced immense (not rarely more than half-a-page) headings to each *lam'a*. The author camouflaged Ismaili ideas and terms with Ithna-ashari and Sufic expressions, invented new terms (*Tu'âm* for *Imâm*, *Tu'âmiyyat* for *Imâmat*, etc.) There is no systematic arrangement, and everything, probably deliberately, is left in a somewhat chaotic condition. In addition to this the author's continuous struggle with verse made him to introduce endless repetitions, circumlocutions and vague allusions. In my article mentioned above ("A Forgotten Branch...") I have summed up the contents of the headings of all the *lam'as*, so that those interested may enlighten themselves. The author gives some vague and allusion-like references to the Imams of the line who followed Shâh Ṭâhir. One of them is 'Azîz Shâh, cf. the Syrian Muḥammad-Shâhî work just above (no. 773).

There may be some other Arabic works, but, unfortunately, they were not available for examination, and certainly contained no explicit statement of their belonging to that branch.

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4. The Ismaili Literature of Syria

Of all the countries of Asia, except for the Yaman, Syria undoubtedly had the longest contact with Ismailism. But while the Yaman was a backwater, far away from the high roads by which various invaders moved, Syria always remained a cross-road of innumerable invasions and armed conflicts, all invariably accompanied by ruthless looting and destruction. To these must be added the unending series of what may be called "domestic" fights against the Sunnis, Nusayris, Christians, uprisings of a local character, and so forth, in which looting was done meticulously and thoroughly, to the last thread, as the inhabitants invariably complain. It is therefore not surprising that almost all their ancestral literary heritage is gone. In 1937 I for two months toured Syria searching for information about Ismaili literature preserved there. The results were most disappointing, as I merely had to hear the story, over and over again repeated on every occasion, of the books gone with the loot, and only very few, incidentally removed beforehand to Beirut, still preserved in the hands of different owners, whom it is not easy to trace.

As is known, all the Ismailis in Syria belong to the Nizari branch, and are subdivided into two sub-sects, the one forming the majority (ab. 20.000) are the Qâsim-Shâhîs (or, as they are called at present, Âghâ-Khânîs) and Muḥammad-Shâhîs (locally known as Ja'farîs), who form a minority (about 4000) and are found only in the districts of Maşyaf and Qadmûs. The Âghâ-Khânîs could produce nothing except for Bombay publications, and the Ja'farîs obstinately stuck to the ancient taboo of keeping their literature hidden. It was only almost twenty years later that I got a list of the Ja'farî literature from an enterprising journalist of Beirut. I offer it here (re-arranged chronologically) for what it is worth, without concealing the fact that I personally believe that it is neither complete nor entirely reliable in details. We may, however, hope that more information may gradually come up in the course of time, judging from the swift pace of progress in the advancement of Syria.

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SYRIAN WORKS

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Before we proceed with the examination of the list, we may recall that old and well-known work on Syrian Ismailism which was published (Paris, 1874) by S. Guyard, "Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis", which offers 82 pages of texts with a translation and comments. Generations of Oriental students read it with full confidence as to the reliability of the information therein contained. But re-reading the work now, after so many original Ismaili texts, whose authenticity is beyond any doubt, had become accessible, one cannot avoid a feeling of doubt and suspicion. It looks as if the learned author has been misled, owing to the complete lack of a proper background, simply because of inavailability of standard Ismaili works at his time. His ideas and deductions would have been entirely different had he got into his hands some of the "classic" works which, according to the list analysed further on, really had been in the possession of the Syrian Ismailis. A small circumstance, however devoid of any special significance, opens a little the door to doubt: on p. 2 of his foreword he mentions that the original manuscript, dated 1220/1805, was bought from a certain J. Rousseau (a Levantine gentleman who carried on a brisk trade in Arabic manuscripts, supplying these to European libraries; similar texts are found in many European centres, there are a lot of them in what was formerly known as the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, now Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad). The author quotes a note by J. Rousseau in which he mentions that the original copy was very negligently written, almost undecipherable. (For instance, the text systematically reads *lâsiq* for the old well-known term *lâhiq*).

This sounds strange. Syrian Ismailis, just as the Druzes, regard the copying of their religious books as a meritorious act, and do it with great care, at least as regards the legibility, not orthography in which they are often helpless. But more suspicion arises from the contents. The opening piece, *Faṣl* (pp. 17-19) is attributed to Râshidu'd-dîn, obviously Râshidu'd-dîn Sinân, who claims rebirth through ages, and, apparently, regards himself as a *ḥujjat* (originally an ordinary "bishop", as it was in the Fatimid times), aspires to some extraordinarily inflated religious standing, so vividly resembling the pretensions of his colleague



of 400 years later, Khayr-khwâh of Herat (cf. p. 142-144 above). Further there are pieces, *sûrat*, imitating the Coran.

All this at once makes one to think about some kind of a reformist movement, like that of Khayr-khwâh's, of al-Mush'sha', Bâb, etc. Frequent references to personages from the Bible and Gospels make such impression still stronger. It is impossible to believe that Râshidu'd-dîn Sinân, being of sane mind, could write both the *Faṣl* of the piece 1, and also the "*sûrats*" further in the book. The introduction of his name, thickly enveloped in the cobwebs of legend, here most probably appears just as Nâsir-i Khusraw's name in the "*Kalâm-i Pîr*", to cover forgery.

Anyhow, things being as they are at the moment, it is impossible both to accept the "Fragments" as genuine, or to prove "with documents in hand" their being a misunderstanding.

Turning to the list of works preserved in the community, we may see that the collection includes quite a fair proportion of works preserved by the Musta'lians. Not only "classics", but also such as the *Tâju'l-'aql'id*, (see no.244), or *Dustûr* by Shamsu'd-dîn Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭayyibî, a clearly Bohora name, most probably are recent importations from India.

Another group are "title-less" works, sometimes served under the name of some famous ancients, such as Nakhshabî, Ḥamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî, or even Qâḍî Nu'mân.

A certain number of works of Syrian authors is found in the list, but it is difficult to say anything about their contents without examining the books. It is interesting to note that although the list emanates from the Muḥammad-Shâhî (Ja'farî) community, only one, and quite a late, work belongs to this subsect (it is mentioned above, together with the works in Persian, in the section of the Muḥammad-Shâhî literature, cf. no. 772).

Qâḍî Nu'mân (cf. above, pp. 32-37), his *Asâsu't-ta'wîl*, *Ta'wîlu'd-Da'â'im*, *al-Ikhtisâr*. It is remarkable that the *Da'â'imu'l-Islâm* does not appear in the list.

(776) *ar-R. al-Mudhniba*, attributed to Qâḍî Nu'mân and printed by A. Tamer in the *Khams Rasâ'il Ismâ'iliyya* (Beirut, 1956 pp. 27-87). No historical work and traditional list of Nu'mân's



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works mentions this *risāla*, and it is highly probable that its attribution to Nu'mān is fictitious.

(776-A) *Ja'far b. Manṣūrī'l-Yaman's* (see above, pp. 21-22) *Kashfū'l-Asrār*. No such title is found in the Musta'lian lists. Perhaps it may be either *Asrāru'n-Nuḏqā'* (see no. 14) or possibly the *Kitābu'l-Kashf*, edited by Prof. R. Strothmann (Bombay, 1952) (see no. 13).

Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijistānī's Tuhfat al-Mustajībīn (see above, no. 35).

Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyad fī'd-dīn ash-Shīrāzī, his *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya* (see above no. 163). As he has several collections of the *majālis* to his credit, further identification is necessary.

(776-B) *Sayyid-nā Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī* (see above, pp. 40-45). *Usbū' Dawri's-Sair*. No work with such title is known amongst the compositions of the author.

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn (or Ḥasan) *aṣ-Ṣūrī*, d. in 487/1094.

(777) *aṣ-Ṣūrīyya, al-Qaṣīdat*, on *ḥikmat*, printed by A. Tamer, Damascus, 1955.

(778) *Nafahāt al-A'imma*.

(779) *at-Tuhfat az-Zāhira*.

'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, Tāju'l-'aqa'id (see above, no. 244).

Qays b. Manṣūr ad-Dādīkhī, flourished in the beginning of the vii/xiii c., and in a *qaṣīda* eulogized the Nizari Imam of Alamut 'Alā'u'd-dīn Muḥammad, the father of Ruknu'd-dīn Khūrshāh.

(780) *R. al-Asābī'*, text printed by A. Tamer, *Khams Rasā'il*, pp. 157-179.

(781) *ash-Shāmiyya, al-qaṣīdat*.

(782) *Majmū'at al-Lafz ash-sharīf li-Sinān Rāshidu'd-dīn* (d. 589/1193). It must be certainly a collection of his alleged sayings, prepared possibly long after the saint's death.

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(783) *Maʿāliʿ-ūsh-shumūs fī maʿrifat an-nufūs.*

Dāʿī Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Dāʿud, surnamed *ar-Rafnā*, flourished in the beginning of the ix/xv c.

(784) *ar-R. al-Kāfiya*, on *ḥikmat*. Printed in the *Khams Rasāʾil*, pp. 89-97.

Abūʿl-Maʿālī Ḥātim b. ʿImrān, surnamed *Ibn Ḥahra*, flourished in the beg. of ix/xv c.

(785) *al-Aḥkam waʿl-Fatarāt*, on Kabbalistic matters.

(786) *al-Mabdaʾ waʿl-Maʿād.*

Shihābuʿd-dīn Abū Firās, flourished in the beg. of the x/xvi c. in Syria.

(787) *Sullam aṣ-Ṣuʿūd ilā Dārīʿl-khulūd*, comp. in 901/1495. Hopelessly hollow and banale.

(788) *Sullam al-Ittiqāʾ ilā dārīʿl-baqāʾ*, another production in the same style.

(789) *at-Taḥāmid al-khamsa*, by Ibrāhīm, son of Abū Firās, x/xvi c.

(790) *Dīwān Mazyad al-Hillī al-Asadī*. Not in B and BS. The famous dynasty of Mazyadids (403-545/1012-1150) in Ḥilla, on the Euphrates, is well known in history, but it is impossible to find out what connection with it the author of the *Dīwān* had and what were his ties with Ismailism.

(791) *ad-Dustūr wa Daʿwat al-Muʾminīn liʿl-ḥudūd*, by Shamsuʿd-dīn Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭayyibī, certainly a Mustaʿlian name.

(792) *al-Fawz waʿn-najāt*, by Ḥasan al-Muʿaddil, on *fiqh*.

(793) *ar-R. fīʿn-Nafs an-nāfiqa*, by the same.

(794) *Maṣābiḥuʿl-hidāyat*, by Muḥammad Abūʿl-Makārīm.

“*Nakhshabī*” obviously nothing to do with the ancient *Nakhshabī* (see above, pp. 23-24).



(795) *K. al-Maḥṣūl*. Late Prof. M. Kamil Hussein, of Cairo, who has had a chance to examine this book in Syria, was sure that it had nothing to do with the early Ismaili work which was criticised by Abū Ḥatīm ar-Rāzī and Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī.

(796) *K. al-Burhān* (?)

(797) *K. al-Īdāh*(?) Cf. above no. 83.

Nūru'd-Dīn b. Aḥmad.

(798) *Fuṣūl wa Akhbār*.

(799) *al-Majālis al-Aḥmadiyya*.

(800) *at-Ta'īyya*, by 'Āmir al-Baṣrī.

(801) *at-Tarātīb as-Sab'a*, by Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. 'Alī al-Bazā'ī (?)

(802) *al-Manāqib wa'l-qīṣaṣ*.

(803) *Qaṣā'id Ismā'īliyya*.

(804) *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*. Although the Syrian Ismailism treat it as an Ismaili work, it is in reality a collection of Shi'ite tradition, attributed to Imam Ja'far, and preaching various moral virtues which the faithful should cultivate.

(805) *K. al-Mithāq*, most probably the text of the Ismaili creed, what in the Fatimid literature is called '*Aḥdu'l-awliyā*'.

(806) *Faṣl*, the epistle dealing with the biography of Sinān Rāshidu'd-dīn, edited and translated by S. Guyard in his paper "Un Grand Maître des Assassins" (*Journal Asiatique*, 1877, pp. 324-480). The *Faṣl* edited by S. Guyard is apparently unknown to the Ismailis at present, except through his publication.



5. The Literature of the Khojas and Satpanthis in India

In addition to what has been said in the Introduction (pp. 11-12) about the general characteristics of the Khoja and Satpanth literature, it may be mentioned on the basis of the information supplied by the educated devotees (as I could not ascertain this directly, not being able to read in Gujrati and Kachhi), that it is not extensive. It is quite possible to think that what is now in existence is the result of a process of selection which was at work for a long time. The *gnans*, of which it chiefly consists, were never built into a "canonical version", respectfully preserved. Creation of new compositions is suggested by oral tradition, the new good ones were apparently accepted, and the inferior old ones were allowed to fall in oblivion.

No special care was given to the preservation of the names of the authors, not to speak of the dates referring to their biographies. A great majority of *gnans* are the creation of anonymous authors. Apparently quite a considerable proportion of those attributed to the authorship of Great Pirs probably have nothing to do with them, and were composed at a much later date. This particularly applies to the *gnans about various pirs*, their miracles, their sayings.

Still more noteworthy matter is the fact that many important works usually appear in two versions, *moto*, large, and *nano*, small, that is to say full and abbreviated form. I on many occasions tried to find out from those people who were supposed to know well the gnan literature, whether the *nano* version is an abbreviation of a certain work, or *moto* is an amplified form. The answer invariably was that although both appear under one and the same title, both have nothing to do with one another, are quite different works. But what about similarity of titles? Does it mean that both are the product of different authors? No satisfactory answer was ever received.

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Another noteworthy feature is their polyglottism, inclusion of words, sometimes sentences, from several Indian dialects. Whatever the cause may be, it may be simply credited, or debited, to the great size of the Indian population and multiplicity of its languages. We must not forget that for a long time gnans were preserved only by memorising them. Printing appeared centuries after the gnans remained in circulation.

It may be also mentioned that all this literature is written in *slokas*, according to the original term which is usually translated by "verse". But technically the term *sloka* also means *line*, in manuscript or printed book. Copyists who transcribe Sanskrit books usually charge not per page, but for so many *slokas*, meaning lines, in which one line may contain two or more verses of poetry if lines are long.

All this refers to the old canonical literature. For the last 50-75 years, however, with the cultural progress of the community, printing has brought the book much nearer to life, and quite a sizeable modern literature in Gujarati and Sindhi has arisen. It includes religious as well as educational and generally lay or journalistic subjects, translations, and so forth. Some writers, or journalists, have established a reputation in this new literature.

There are many weeklies, monthlies, and irregular journals and magazines in Gujarati and Sindhi, sometimes, with a small section in English, published in different cities of India, and now Pakistan. The oldest is apparently "The Ismaili" in Bombay, continuing for more than 37 years. The majority, however, were short-lived, closing soon after the start due to lack of public support, because the reading habit has not yet spread sufficiently, and the more advanced strata, knowing English, prefer the big English newspapers printed locally.

In my paper "The Sect of Imam-Shah in Gujrat" (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. Asiatic Society, Bombay, 1936, pp. 19-70) I have given a list of the old canonical literature of Satpanth (which is exactly the same as that of the Khojas), but it seems, some titles were overlooked. Now a young friend of mine, Mr. J. H. Lakhani, of Bombay, was kind enough to give me for reference his notes. I hope, with the help of these, the account below will be nearer to being complete.



It may be added that the branch of the Satpanth, with the headquarters at Pirana, about ten miles West from Ahmadabad, also sometimes produce editions of their religious literature, in Gujrati. But the Eastern branch, the Maratthi speaking community, with the headquarters in Burhanpur, East Khandesh, is rapidly lapsing back into Hinduism because their pirs, for various reasons, declare themselves being pure Sunni Sufis, who had nothing to do with Ismailism. Various Hindu reactionary organisations carry on active propaganda amongst the community.

The list offered below is arranged according to traditional sequence of the Pirs, which apparently has very little to do with history. But this is all that is available.

Pir Shams, traditionally the earliest missionary who came from Persia, often confused both with Shams-i Tabrîz, Rûmî's associate, and even Imam Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, son of Imam Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh. Cf. W. Ivanow, "Shums Tabrez of Multan", Prof. M. Shafi Presentation Vol. Lahore, 1957, pp. 109-118.

(807) *Brahma Prakash*, "Divine Illumination", in verse, 150 slokas.

(808) *Hans Hansli ni Varta* (also called *Mulbandh no Achhodo*), a parable of he-goose and she-goose, in 504 couplets, with refrain.

(809) *Chandrabhan*, with a *Vel*, in 50 short poems, with an appendix of 12 poems.

(810) *Surbhan*, with a *Vel*, of the same type as the preceding, 62 verses.

(811) *Raja Govarchand Tatha Teni Ben ni Katha*, Govarchand becomes an ascetic and his sister Nilavanti tries to dissuade him. Two parts, 294 and 96 verses.

(812) *Mansamjmani (Vadi)*. Advices to one's mind, a chaotic collection of pious thoughts, full of glaring anachronisms. Consists of 401 poems of 20 lines each.

(813) *Sloko Moto*, bigger collection of gnans, of the usual pious contents, 240 quatrains.



(814) *Vaek, Moto*, with a *Vel*. Discourse (bigger), with an appendix, 64 plus 31 quatrains.

(815) *Garbi*, 28 poems sung at a festival. Were translated by Mr. Vali-Bhai Master, and edited by W. Ivanow, in "Collec-tanea" (Ism. S-ty series "A" no. 2, Cairo, 1948, pp. 55-85).

(816) *Gnans*, 108 in number, including the 28 preceding Garbis.

Pir Şadru'd-dîn, a saint, now known as a Sufic shaykh Hâjî Şadar Shâh, buried in Jetur, situated within 15 miles from Uchh, in Bahawalpur state, apparently flourished in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth and beginning of the ninth/fifteenth c. Of his biography nothing is remembered. Many works are ascribed to him, in how far correctly, only Allah knows.

(817) *Buĵ Nirinjan*, "Knowledge of the attributeless Deity", 581 line, divided into 33 parts, on *tawhîd* and *ma'rifat*.

(818) *Aradh*, "(Divine) adoration", divided into 20 parts of about 21 lines each.

(819) *Vinod*, "Bliss", so named after the citation in which the name of the *Pir* is mentioned, who thanks God for the bliss which he enjoys. Total 22 verses.

(820) *Gayantri*, preaching Islam, in 11 parts. Cf. no. 835.

(821) *Athar Ved*, an interpretation of the ancient Hindu *Atharva Veda* dealing with the incarnations of the Deity. In 11 parts.

(822) *Surat Samachar*, "Understanding of form", of things, good and evil, in prose.

(823) *Girbhavali* (shorter), on macrocosmos and microcosmos, in prose. Cf. no. 828.

(824) *Budh Avatar*, on the IX-th avatar of Vishnu, in Islamic interpretation. 525 lines, in verse.



(825) *Das Avatar* (shorter), "Ten Incarnations", in prose and verse, in 10 chapters.

(826) *To Munivar Bhai (Moti)*, as it is called after the initial words, or, as its title appears in the text of the poem, *Muman Chitveni*, in verse, 552 quatrains. Mystical cosmogony. Cf. no. 849.

(827) *Bavan Ghali*, "Fifty-two passes", on sins and virtues in the form of the soul of the dead man being questioned at 52 "passes" on the way to blessing, in 52 short parts.

(828) *Girbhavali (Moto)*, on macrocosmos and microcosmos (as no. 823), in prose, in the form of a dialogue, modelled on *Gita*.

(829) *Khat Nirinjan*, with a *Vel*, in 260 distichs, divided into three parts. On knowledge of God, prayers, Imamatus and pirship, superiority of Satpanth.

(830) *Khat Darshan*, with a *Vel*, "Six Hindu philosophical schools", a comprehensive work, like an encyclopaedia of Satpanth theosophy, divided into four parts. In verse.

(831) *Bavan Bodh*, *So Kiriya*, *Sahi Samrani*, "52 advices", "100 obligatory acts", and "True remembrances", in verse. A version of *So Kiriya* is called *Shiksha Patri*. Both were translated in the "Collectanea" (Cairo 1948) mentioned above.

(832) *Sloko (Nano)*, a collection of gnans, 120 quatrains. On virtues and sins.

(833) *Du'a*, a collection of prayers, still in use.

(834) *Gnan*, a collection of devotional hymns regarded as composed by Pir Şadru'd-dîn.

Pir Abû Qalandar Hasan Kabîru'd-dîn, locally called *Hasan Daryâ*, is buried within the distance of less than a mile from Uchh, in Bahawalpur state. From several sources it appears that he died about 875/1470.

(835) *Gayantri*, regarded also as a work of Pir Şadru'd-dîn, cf. no. 820.



(836) *Brahma Gayantri*, in prose, divided into three parts, deals with the creation of Brahma from Tej, light.

(837) *Hasnapuri*, with a *Vel.* (Hasnapuri, which gives the title to this, being incidentally mentioned in the text, is the corrupted ancient name of Dehli, Hastinapuri). The work itself deals with cosmogony, sacred books, etc. In verse, 165 and 84 lines.

(838) *Hasan Kabiruddin ane Kânîpa no Samvad*, meeting of Hasan with the sage Kanîpa; both discuss various religious matters. In prose and verse. Authenticity of Hasan's authorship is very doubtful.

(839) *Anat Akhado*, "The Battlefield of Anat", 500 quatrains, deals with eschatology.

(840) *Anant na nav Chhuga*, "Nine appeals to the Imam", praying permission to travel to Persia for the *dîdâr*, nine poems.

(841) *Satgurnur na Viva*, "The Marriage of Satgurnur", the saint of Navsari, a legend. In verse, 222 lines.

(842) *Anant na Viva*, "Naklank's marriage with Anant (Earth)", 223 verses, dealing with eschatology.

(843) *Gnans*, 79 in number. Contain references to different Imams, such as Abû Dharr-'Alî, Dhû'l-fiqâr -'Alî, and others.

Imâmu'd-dîn 'Abdu'r-Rahîm b. Hasan, surnamed *Imâm-Shâh*. d. in Pirana, 919/1513, the founder of the present Satpanth sect. He is regarded as a great saint by the Satpanthis, but simply as a "*sayyid*" by the Khojas (the title is merely honorary, and does not imply descent from 'Alî). Cf. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imamshah in Gujrat", J. B. B. R. A. S., Bombay, 1936, pp. 19-70.

(844) *Atharvedi Gavantri*, "A motif from Atharva Veda", a symbolic theogony. In prose, about five pages.

(845) *Bai Budhai*, Imamshah's talk with his sister Budhai on religious and theosophic subjects. In verse, 71 short poems.

(846) *Gugri na das gnan*, "Ten gnans of the *gugri*" (the *gugri* is a glittering bell, usually placed for decorative purposes



over the tombs of various saints). 10 short poems, dealing with the virtues desirable in the faithful.

(847) *Naklank Gita*, a mythological cosmogony, in prose.

(848) *Moman Chetamani*, "Mu'min's warning", in verse, 630 poems of 5 lines each. Instruction in moral and religious matters for the believer.

(849) *To Munivar Bhai (Nani)* or *Muman Chitvarni*, instruction in religion for the believer, in verse, 313 quatrains, every one beginning with the words "to munivar bhai". Cf. no. 826.

(850) *Vis tol*, "Twenty stops", on sins and vices. In verse, in 20 lessons.

(851) *Pandavona Parab*, "Chapter on Pandavas", in verse, 578 couplets, on avatars of the Deity, rebirth of Pandavas, etc. Date of composition 1437 Samvat, or 1381 A.D., quite impossible if the work is really by Imamshah.

(852) *Jannatpuri*, "The Paradise Town", narrating Imamshah's visit to Paradise. In verse, 153 quatrains. Summed up in "Collectanea" of the Ism. S-ty, no. 2 (Cairo, 1948), pp. 122-137.

(853) *Mul Gayetri yane shrushtinun mandan ane nure hidayat varnan*, "The basic cosmogony and the story of *nûr-i hidâyat*", in prose, divided into several sections.

(854) *Satveni (Nani)*, "True words" (shorter). In verse, 22 short poems. On various religious matters. Cf. no. 861.

(855) *Das Avatar (Moto)*. In verse, 1613 couplets, with the usual stories of gods and saints.

(856) *Jhankar*, "Battle", on eschatology. In verse, 486 couplets.

(857) *Man sanjamni*, "Advices to mind", with a *Vel* (appendix) and 46 *Sunnat*. On purposes of preaching Islam, prescriptions of *shari'at*, relations between the *pîr* and *murîd*, etc. In verse, 332 couplets.

(858) *Mulbandh Sol Thal, Char Chowk*, with 17 *gnans*. In prose and verse. Deals with the inevitable matters of cosmogony, pious behaviour and virtues.



(859) *Gnans*, 162 of them, supposed to be composed by Imamshah, which is doubtful.

Nar-Muhammad Shâh, the son of Imamshah, was born about 874/1470, and died in Pîrâna about 940/1534. His name, sounding too Hindu, is sometimes given in a more Muslim form, Nûr Muḥammad. He is known as the author of some works:

(860) *Satvarni*, story of the Imams.

(861) *Satveni-ji Vel*, on righteous life, worship, and an extension, *Vel*, a cursory sketch of the history of the Imams and *pîrs*, occasionally giving dates in Samvat era. The latest dates are 1516 and 1520. These dates are usually unreliable, but in modern works by the Khojas and Satpanthis are preferred even in the cases in which absolutely reliable dates, such as taken from tombstones of the saints' graves, are available. Cf. no. 824.

(862) *Gnans* by different authors about whom nothing except for bare names has been preserved by tradition. They were recently printed by the authorities of Pîrâna, together with the *gnans*, supposed to be by Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn. There are: *Putla*, legend of Pîr Satgurnur's miracle in making Hindu idols dance, etc., surely not composed by himself. Nine *gnans* attributed to that saint. Five *gnans* by pîr Hasam (Hâshim?) Shah. A *gnan* by pîr Nâşîru'd-dîn. 4 *gnans* by pîr Şâhibu'd-dîn (Shihâbu'd-dîn?) A *gnan* by pîr Tâju'd-dîn. One *gnan* by pîr 'Alî Akbar Beg.

The date and authenticity of these *gnans* entirely depend on tradition which is very unreliable.

(863) *Manhar*, a treatise on theosophy and asceticism, by a minor saint, Ghulâm 'Alî Shâh, whose grave is in Keyra, Kachh.



ADDENDA

1. Shi'ite Darwishism

We have mentioned above the role which was played by late Sufism in the decline of Nizari literature. It was, however, not what may be called "learned" Sufism, as, for instance, expounded in the works of Jâmî, but a new version of it thoroughly permeated with Shi'ite sentiment and the cult of Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî, Ithna-'ashari Imams and saints. Shi'ite topics by the Safawid time gradually acquired domination over Sufic ideas, and general literature almost turned into a wholesale production of laudatory verses in honour of the Shi'ite holy personages, just as at the earlier periods of the literary history of Persia it was mostly devoted to the lauding of various princes or influential persons of Maecenatic disposition.

The history of Shi'ism in Persia and Central Asia was never properly studied, but the common idea that Shi'ism came to Iran chiefly under the Safawides is grossly incorrect. Shi'ism had already many important centres and schools in the fourth/tenth c. not only in various cities of Persia proper, as Ray, Nishapur, Qum, Kashan, etc., but also Balkh, Marw, Samarqand and other important places of Central Asia. All these were seized, and Shi'ism was suppressed and driven away from these by the recurring Turkish invasions which supported Sunnism.

After the Mongol invasion, especially under Timur and Timurides, the earlier figure of the Sufi as a devout ascetic, theologically educated and absorbed in worship, gradually became extinct, and was replaced by that of the *Darwish*, who claimed connection with the old Sufism, *Taşamwuf*, but in reality had not much in common with its original and basic ideas and ideals.

Darwishism was no novelty; its roots go deep into history. Darwishes at earlier periods were chiefly known under the name of *qalandars* (the term which, except in poetry, became obsolete and almost forgotten under the Safawides). Bands of *qalandars*, often armed for self-protection, chiefly specialised on pilgrimages



to Mekka, for earning spiritual benefits promised for this, for themselves and also for those who supported them. As is well-known, pilgrimage (*hajj*) by proxy is allowed in Islam, under certain circumstances.

With the gradual spread of Shi'ism, and, at the same time growing complexity of the political structure of the Middle East, Sunnite qalandars mostly emigrated to the countries which patronised Sunnism, where they sought association with the more popular and "democratic" Sufic organisations such as Qâdirîs, Rufâ'îs, Naqshbandîs, etc., but, not being offered sufficient support, sank to the position of common beggars, jugglers and snake-charmers.

In Persia, with the spread of Shi'ism, the ranks of the darwishes began to be more and more filled with rural paupers and misfits from amongst town folk in whom acute bitterness for their position could easily ferment into extremist religious tendencies. Their mentality essentially differed from that of the regular Sufic affiliations (*silsila*) which were properly organised and, at least some, possessed sufficient endowments to live on and continue their devotional practices. The bands, or guilds, of the illiterate beggars who pretended to be Sufis only for stimulating charity, had to think more about getting enough to eat. They evolved a kind of a "constitution" (which hardly deserves to be called organisation) studded with secret rites and various ceremonies to which outsiders were not admitted, and which gradually were more and more leaning to Shi'ite extremist ideas.

Already soon after the beginning of the decomposition of the Mongol rule in Persia darwishism appears playing a prominent role in the powerful social and religious movement of Sarbadârs in Sabzawâr (737-783/1337-1381). Under the guidance of able leaders such as Ḥasan Jûrî and Shamsu'd-dîn 'Alî they could show themselves as the real backbone of the movement.

The Sarbadâr darwishes were no exception. Their role and tactics were apparently quite similar in the movement of the "Brigand Mahdî", Muḥammad *al-Musha'sha'* in Khûzistân and Southern 'Irâq (d. about 870/1465), and his criminal successors. Again, darwishes played an outstanding and organising part in

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the origin of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq sect in Kurdistan about the same period. Later on it was probably the darwishes who fanned "the flame of the sacred hatred" in the Shi'ite troops of Shâh Isma'il Ṣafawî (d. 930/1524), and the subjects of the Safawid state generally. These are only the principal events in which the darwishes proved to be a serious force to be taken into consideration.

The old Sufic tradition had to make concessions to the new spirit, despite the patronage of the upper feudal strata of the society. The leading organisation of this kind, the Ni'matî, founded by Ni'matu'l-lâh Walî of Kerman (d. 834/1431), stubbornly stuck to the old models. It was always selective in its membership, and occupied the position of an "aristocratic" organisation. Later on it became a fashion in the higher strata of the feudal society to be a member of this affiliation.

Rural Persia, including the Ismailis, was to a very great extent influenced by what the darwishes preached. Their way of preaching, spontaneously and *naturally* evolved by the circumstances and local conditions, formed a unique and ingenious propaganda machine. The darwish, singing in the bazars, everywhere, always was "here and now" with his inobtrusive appeals. Besides, this system had the unique peculiarity – it was self-supporting. What was also of great importance was the fact that darwishism was never considered as a separate school or branch of the religion of the majority, a *madhhab*. It was something like the guild of the artisans, with whom, generally speaking, darwishes were always closely connected. So it continued even till quite recently when a few decades ago almost the whole of the class of the junior government clerks, petty tradesmen, and other similar working people in Persia belonged to the "Mullâ-Sultânî" or "Gunâbâdî" order, an off-shoot of the Ni'matu'l-lâhîs (with headquarters in Baydukht, Gunâbâd), without in anyway forfeiting their Shi'ite orthodoxy in the eyes of the people.

Whatever may be the evaluation of the Shi'ite sentiment as a social factor, it cannot be denied that darwishism, in its "bread-earning" aspect, carried with it much of infectious silt of superstition, religious prejudice, intolerance and all sorts of beliefs in magic, prophetic dreams, divination, and so forth. These



negative developments did not affect the illiterate farmer only, but spread widely into the educated classes, to a great extent affecting the outlook of those strata which should have been leading the nation on the path of progress. Old Sufic works became too "heavy" for the newer generations which demanded miracles, something which did not demand thinking, mere capacity of believing being quite sufficient for it. Everything dissolved in words, not any constructive action, dreams and good intentions instead of facing the horrible reality of the mediaeval life as it was.

An interesting and illuminating fact may be cited. The next in popularity to the famous *Mathnawî* of Jalâlu'd-dîn Rûmî were didactic poems of 'Aṭṭâr (d. ab. 621/1230), especially his *Manḥiqu't-tayr*. Amongst the Ismailis even now they are regarded almost as religious books. Farîdu'd-dîn 'Aṭṭâr of Nishapur, as is well-known, was a strict Sunni as he appears in his genuine works, which contain no Shi'ite motives. But in the course of time a series of works appeared, attributed to him, full of the most intense Shi'ite sentiment, – such as the *Mazharu'dh-dhât*, *Mazharu'l-'ajâ'ib*, *Lisânu'l-ghayb*, and many other poems. They greatly puzzled students of Persian literature. In his interesting book (written in Persian), *Justujû dar ahwâl wa âthâr-i Farîdu'd-dîn 'Aṭṭâr-i Nishâbûrî*, Tehran, 1942, Prof. Sa'îd Nafici offers a suggestion that such ultra-Shi'ite poems were in fact the works of a forger, a third rate poet whose original name was forgotten, a certain man from Tûn, an old Ismaili town, destroyed by Mongols. He was 'Aṭṭâr's "double" whose works apparently had much success, especially in Safawid time.

This case was not isolated, – there was much falsification of the poetry of the early Sufic poet *Sanâ'î* (d. ab. 545/1150), under the name of Thanâ'î, and probably many other who still remain undetected.

We have already mentioned the story of the "Well-wisher", *Khayr-khwâh-i Harâtî* (cf. above, nos. 704-708) who wrote in 959/1550, and simply transplanted into Ismailism the Shi'ite *darwish* (and NOT Sufic) idea of the con-substantiality of the *pîr*, spiritual guide, with the Imam, apparently based on non-Ismaili theories of *ishraq* and *fanâ fi'l-Haqq*.



2. Ahl-i Haqq

In my book, "The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan" (Ismaili Society Series A no. 7, Bombay, 1953) I analyzed the different elements which the doctrine and tradition of the sect of the Ahl-i Haqq, or 'Alî-Ilâhîs, had absorbed in the course of its development, tracing the chronological stratification of the successive layers. There is, however, no need to say that many points still remain uncertain, chiefly due to the fluidity of this uncodified doctrine, often substantially varying in different localities of its vast dispersal. On the whole there cannot be any doubt as to most important role which Shi'ite darwishism played in moulding the sect as it is at present. The sectarians themselves realise their close connection with the darwishes of the Ḥaydarî or Khâksâr affiliation, so much that they admit such darwishes to their secret gatherings from which all outsiders are rigidly excluded.

Despite the absence of any recordable contact with the Druzes the 'Alî-Ilâhî beliefs include many elements which are almost identical in both cases. Not only is there the idea of the Divinity of the Imam in his periodical (*sha'sha'ânî*) re-incarnations, "coming in different dresses" (*dûn, libâs*), but also the re-incarnation of the Imam's close associates (cf. above, nos. 563 and 623),

Although the sect, even as recorded in history, is already in existence for more than five hundred years, it has not developed any religious literature, no doubt due to strict enforcement of the taboo on revealing its doctrine to non-initiated. It possesses no books which are regarded as enshrining their dogma and tradition, although all this is preserved, and taught orally, under an oath of secrecy. All this, if written down, together with the huge store of religious poetry (*kelams*, as the poems are called), would make quite a sizeable literature. It even has a special name, of *Kalâm-i* or *Alfâz-i Saranjâm*, the latter meaning "completion" or "realisation" (of the promise or cove



nant between the Deity and Man, concerning the revelation of the Truth, *Haqq*). Only recently, during the last century, some sectarians, living in more advanced milieu, and capable of writing in Persian, made some attempts of writing down the substance of their "mythology", tradition about successive incarnations, the most complete so far known being the *Tadhkira'i A'lâ*, edited by myself in the "Truth-Worshippers" mentioned above.

The misunderstanding about the meaning of the term *saranjâm* (which is an adjective, and not a substantive) often leads to the appearance of the title "Saranjâm" as a supposed "Bible" of the Ali-ilahis. In his interesting work (written in Arabic), *al-Kâkâ'iyya fi't-ta'rîkh* (Baghdad, 1949), the author, 'Abbâs al-'Azzâwî, mentions (p. 54) that "*Kitâb Saranjâm*" was composed (not stated in what language) by a certain Mullâ 'Âbidîn. "It is a large book. Professor Sayyid Bahâ'u'd-dîn Nûrî translated it into Arabic. It is not (yet) printed". It is interesting to find out in what position the matter is now, and in what language the original was written,- possibly in Gurani?

The illiteracy prevailing amongst the Kurdish tribes and Turks who profess these beliefs apparently does not permit any modernist or reformist movement to rise and develop. The only, or the latest which is known, is that which was started about fifty years ago by a certain Ni'matu'l-lâh Jayhûnâbâdî who produced a book in Persian under the title of *Furqânû't-akhbâr*, a few copies of which are in circulation. His ideas were, however, rejected outright and condemned by the sect, never taking the book seriously despite the efforts of the author and of his son.



3. Hurufis and Nuqtawis

The general cultural decline and the spread of superstition after the Mongol invasion and under the Timurids incidentally led to the revival of the ancient beliefs in the magical intrinsic force of letters, figures, and even dots used in writing. It may be said that this particular superstition is as old as Pythagoras of Greece (the VI-th c. B.C.), or older. Being as ever-green as astrology, it periodically becomes a fashion only to decline in public interest and after a time to revive again, when a genius re-discovers it, and begins to theorize. Ismaili literature abounds in such theories, and, of course, it was one of the chief sources of the miraculous wisdom with the darwishes, as it remains to this day.

Such a genius in the second half of the viii/xiv c. was in Iran, namely in Mâzandarân, a certain Faḍlu'l-lâh Astarâbâdî, who developed a doctrine, "philosophy", out of such speculations. It is not easy to find out what they exactly were because he himself has not left any sensible account except the book which is called *Jâwîdân-i Kabîr*, a thick volume, written partly in Persian, partly in Arabic, and partly in the dialect of Mazandaran. All this was written not to make anything clear, but to obscure and mistify. It displays many contacts with Ismailism, Alamut, even refers to Sayyidnâ Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ.

The author succeeded in collecting around himself a crowd of Sufis or darwishes, but the orthodox raised a cry about his being a heretic, and the mad son of Timur, Mîrânshâh, who was the governor of the province, murdered him. His followers dispersed and the majority fled to Turkey. Here they succeeded in associating themselves with the order of Bektashîs, who accepted their religious books and incorporated them into their own religious literature, in which they became preserved.

The most prominent amongst Faḍlu'l-lâh's followers was a certain Maḥmûd from the village called Pasîkhân, near Rasht, in Gîlân, who received the honorary title of *'Alî al-A'lâ*. He

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disagreed and quarreled with his teacher, ultimately left him, and developed his own system, a sort of "magical atomism", in which he took as the origin of things *dots*, in different combinations. His end was apparently non-violent, and he died in 831/1428, not clear, in Persia or in Turkey.

According to tradition which is partly recorded in various Persian *tadhkiras*, or biographical works, Maḥmūd was a very prolific author. He composed a *tafsīr* of the Coran in 16 vols, and *one thousand* short treatises, *risālas*. All these perished, and only the title of one *risāla* is remembered, it was *Mizān*. He was giving himself out as a Divinely sent "Messenger", the *Mubayyin*, "Explainer", to initiate a new era in the history of the world. How his and the Hurufis' relations have finally christallised, this is difficult to ascertain owing to great scarcity and inaccessibility of materials.

In his book "*Nuḡṭawīyān wa Pasīkhānīyān*" (in Persian), Dr. Ş. Kiyâ has collected from various Persian historical and biographical works references to this sect (pp. 19-71). Unfortunately, his main source of information was the *Dabistān-i Madhâhib*, a work of rather doubtful reliability, written in India, apparently coming from Parsee sources. Dr. Kiyâ mentions only one "historical" *Nuḡṭawī*, namely a poet of the Safawid period, Abû'l-Qâsim Amrî Shîrâzî (cf. above note no. 709), who was persecuted for his alleged heresy and blinded by Shâh Tahmâsp in 973/1565. The accusation in *ilhād* (the term by which the hereticism of the Ismailis is usually designated), for which he was murdered, may evoke doubts as to whether he really was a *Nuḡṭawī*. Persian Ismailis regard him as an Ismaili, and his verses are occasionally found in anthologies and personal "albums" (because owing to his tragic end his poems were never collected in book-form). In some of his poems (cf. no. 709) he expresses fears of being *again* persecuted. And yet he finds in himself courage to refer, however cautiously, to two Ismaili Imams. Was he really a *Nuḡṭawī*, or were *Nuḡṭawīs* in reality crypto-Ismailis?

The late Prof. E.G. Browne collected an interesting list of Hurufi works acquired by different European libraries. He published it in his paper in JRAS 1907. As the subject is very in-

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teresting, but it is rather difficult to get the article for reference, especially in the East, I decided to reprint his list for the convenience of the students. The matter is worthy of investigation, as we also know very little in reality about the Bektashis.

About the Hurufis' association with Bektashis I may add here just a few words from my own experience. In 1948, while in Cairo, I had a talk with the *dede* (head) of the famous Kaygusuz *teke*, asking him about the *Jâwîdân* and Hurufi books. He said that he was an Albanian, did not know Persian, never heard of the Hurufi books or *Jâwîdân*. Was it *taqiyya*, or truth? It is of course quite possible that many Hurufi books, incorporated into Bektashi literature are no longer regarded as Hurufi, and such a question is never raised. But *dede's* ignorance about the *Jâwîdân* is strange.

Works in Persian:

- (867) *Âdam-nâma*.
- (868) *'Arsh-nâma*.
- (869) *Asmâ'i Husnâ*.
- (870) *Bishârat-nâma'i Ilâhî*.
- (871) *R. Mîr Fâdilî*.
- (872) *Ash'âr-i Amîr Ghiyâth*.
- (873) *Hidâyat-nâma*.
- (874) *Istiwâ-nâma*, by Amîr Ghiyâthu'd-dîn Astarâbâdî.
- (875) *Jâwîdân-nâma'i Kabîr*, by Faḍlu'l-lâh Astarâbâdî.
- (876) *Ash'âr-i Khayâlî*,
- (877) *Kursî-nâma*.
- (878) *Lughat-i Jâwîdân-i Kabîr*.
- (879) *Maḥabbat-nâma*, by Faḍlu'l-lâh.
- (880) *Dîwân-i Nasîmî* (Persian and Turkish).
- (881) *Risâla'i Fadl-i Hurûfî*.
- (882) *Risâla'i Hurûf*.



(883) *Ash'âr-i Sayyid Sharîf.*

(884) *Shirâb-nâma.*

(885) *Tahqîq-nâma.*

(886) *Wasîyyat-nâma.*

(887) *Zubdatu'n-najât.*

Work in Arabic:

(888) *Mir'âtu't-Tâlibîn.*

Works in Turkish:

(889) *Âkhirat-nâme*, by Firishta-zâda.

(890) *Dîwân-i 'Arshî-Dede.*

(891) *Bishârat-nâma'i Rafî'î.*

(892) *Bayân-i ahwâl-i hashr.*

(893) *Bayân-i Silsila'i Bektâsh.*

(894) *Manâqib-i Bektâsh.*

(895) — — another.

(896) *Dâ'ira'i Rijâl-i ghayb.*

(897) *Faḍîlat-nâma.*

(898) *Faqr-nâma*, by Wirânî-Dede.

(899) *Fayḍ-nâma*, by the same.

(900) *Ganj-nâma*, by Rafî'î.

(901) *Ḥaqqat-nâma*, by Shaykh Şafî.

(902) *Hidâyat-nâma*, by Firishta-zâda.

(903) *Ḥikmatu'l-asrâr.*

(904) *'Ishq-nâma*, by Firishta-zâda.

(905) *Kâshifu'l-asrâr wa Dâfi'u'l-ashrâr*, by Ishâq-Effendi.

(906) *Maqâmât-i Aqlâb.*

(907) *Maqâmât-i Awliyâ*, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza.

(908) *Miftâḥ-i ḥurûf-i Jâwîdân wa Kutub-i Hurûfiyya.*



(909) *Ash'âr-i Mişrî.*

(910) *R. Mithâlî.*

(911) *Ash'âr-i Muḥyî' d-dîn Abdâl.*

(912) *Dîwân-i Nasîmî* (Turk. and Persian).

(913) *Pand-nâma'î Ḍa'îfî.*

(914) *Dilu Dâdâ*, by Shaykh Ibrâhîm Effendi al-Ughlânî Aqserâ'î.

(915) *Kayfiyyat-i Khilqat.*

(916) *Nuqtatu'l-Bayân.*

(917) *Yedi Dâ'ira.*

(918) *Sa'âdat-nâma.*

(919) *R. Şalâhî Effendi.*

(920) *Sharḥ-i Jâwîdân* by Ḥâjî Effendi.

(921) *Tuḥfa wa ash'âr-i Shuhûdî.*

(922) *Shi'ru'l-mufradât*, by Darwîsh Bâbâ Uways.

(923) *Taṣfiya'î Sulûk.*

(924) *Tirâsh-nâma.*

(925) *Tuḥfa'î Muḥammad Nasîmî.*

(926) *'Uyûnu'l-hidâyat.*

(927) *Waṣiyyat-nâma.*

(928) — — by Bektâsh.



4. Ummu'l-Kitab (No. 929)

The enigmatic work, preserved amongst the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus region, is an interesting relic of antiquity. A description and summary of it has been given by me in 1933 in the "Revue des Études Islamiques", Paris ("Notes sur l'Ummu'l-Kitab"), and the full original Persian text, with a detailed index, was published by me in 1936 in "Der Islam", vol. XXIII, pp. 1-132. The language, despite re-copying in the course of a long period by the copyists of very limited literacy, and also despite the fact that Persian is a foreign language for them, preserved many archaisms. It seems from the style of the work that it is *not* a translation from Arabic. The ascertainment of the date at which it was composed, and the place from which it comes, presents unsurmountable difficulties. It refers to about a hundred geographical and ethnic names, ranging from Barqa and Berbers in N. Africa, to Tibet, Sind and Sarandīb (Ceylon), with the only "nest" of several towns closely situated to each other being Northern Mesopotamia: Antakiya, Malaṭya, Nişibīn. Neither the chief cities of Central Asia, nor Persia, nor Baghdad are ever mentioned.

Although it is to this day regarded by the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus as their most sacred and secret book, it surely cannot be accepted as an Ismaili work, although *undoubtedly* it is based on early Ismaili literary sources. It is in reality a *gnostic* work which contains surprisingly many Manichaean ideas. The most interesting feature is that it gives a prominent position to the early Shi'ite heresiarch, contemporary to Imam Ja'far, Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, who was executed in Kufa in 145/762. But it is impossible to regard this book as reflecting the Khattabiyya sectarian doctrine. In fact the name of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb which appears here seven times, is in the majority of cases given in what is called the "frame-work story", which is full of the most glaring anachronisms, and in approximately one and the same "formula",



in which he is coupled with Salmân-i Fârsî as a self-less devotee of the Imams who preached their deification. The main contents is apparently a home-made theosophical system chiefly concerned with the cosmogony and psychology, in which the unknown author borrowed from various sources what he found useful. It is however evident that the groundwork was *old* Ismaili, perhaps even Qarmatian literature of the early Yamanite type, in any case not later than the beginning of the v/xi c., judging from the fact that the author mentions in his discussions the triad of *jidd*, *fath* and *khayâl*. It became obsolete in the later periods. Although, of course, the author could pick it up from some old works, it to a certain extent is corroborated by the appearance of a reference to Khazars, the Turkish people who became converted to Judaism, and formed a strong state in the Xth. c. A. D. in the steppes North of the Caspian, which disappeared in the next century.

As it is usually very difficult to get access to the old Orientalistic periodicals, except for those who live within easy reach of big libraries in Europe, I offer here the subjects of the 38 questions and answers into which the work is divided:

1. Necessity of believing in the manifestation of God in human form. - 2. Mystical implications of the formula of *Basmala* in the Coran. - 3. The person of the Creator and His attributes. - 4. Refutation of the doctrine of the transcendence of the Deity and of the impossibility of knowing its attributes. - 5. The *dtwâns*, or interspherical cosmic "palaces". - 6. Creation of the Universe. - 7. The creation of the material world and of man; the Covenant of God with mankind. - 8. The part of "pleasure" (*lidh-dhat*) in the material world. - 9. Human psychical life. - 10. Freedom of will. - 11. Symbolism of the 'Ashûrâ and of number ten. - 12. The Coran (cf. also question 27). - 13. The nature of dreams. - 14. Rebirth of souls (cf. also question 32). - 15. *Baytu'l-ma'mûr* (cf. also question 19). - 16. The Ark of Noah, and the symbols of the prophets. - 17. The *Mi'râj* of Muḥammad, *Dhû'l-fiqâr* of 'Alî, and the *Qâ'im*. - 18. How many thrones of God there are? - 19. *Ka'ba* or *Baytu'l-ma'mûr* (cf. quest. 15). - 20. On what does the earth stand? - 21. What was the earth on which Adam fell when expelled from Paradise? - 22. The spirits which ascend from the



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29. Symbolism of *namāz*. - 30. On fast and other *sharī'at* pre-
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